

LAWRENCE WELK AND SITTING BULL ARE NEIGHBORS, YA KNOW:
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND QUALITY OF LIFE
ON THE NORTHERN PLAINS

BY

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my maternal and paternal grandparents, Anthony and Mederise Stanlake, and Arthur and Frances Hebert. It is also dedicated to North Dakota, a place that will always be my home no matter how far I wander.

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COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND QUALITY OF LIFE ON THE NORTHERN
PLAINS

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This study explores and compares the dimensions of community and quality of life for two communities in North and South Dakota; one a predominately Germans-from-Russia farming county and the other an Indian reservation of Lakota and Dakota peoples. Although these communities seem worlds apart, when Native Americans and European Americans discuss their ideal community, in many ways, they describe the same place. Despite differences between these groups in the order and proportional strength of their prioritized preferences, they both most frequently mentioned the same (3) factors as important to them for a good community: Civic Engagement, Public Safety and Attainment (income and education). Civic engagement was also an important component in resident optimism for the future and confidence that their communities will improve through time. These findings support the importance

of civic engagement and inter-household relations among both Native Americans and European Americans. Although material factors were significant components in conceptions of the good community, civic engagement and inter-household relations far outweighed these concerns in the macro model for all groups and in most subgroup constructions. This study highlights how civic engagement is fundamental to both a good community quality of life and community optimism because trust and personal relationships create a context for success and provide a broader sense of support and security than do household income or other subjective economic factors. Additionally, perceived strengths in civic engagement are the foundation for subjective notions of positive community change and optimism for the future because community members gain confidence from the support and possibilities of collective action relative to individual efficacy (i.e., there is strength in numbers when approaching a problem or challenge). These assertions stress the importance of balancing social capital development with human and physical capital development in community development efforts. Although physical and human capital developments are important components for community renewal, they are clearly not the only necessary components in building better communities and a more robust QOL. The development of social capital is often overlooked in community development practice and policy; yet, as community members assert, it is an essential and crucial component in their conceptions of a healthy community.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The last decade of the 20th century was one of the most economically prosperous and stable periods in United States history. Although there are numerous signs of an economic downturn as we enter the first decade of the 21st century, unemployment remains low, incomes are high and new technologies continue to transform the way we live, interact and solve problems. Even many rural areas, long the cultural and economic backwaters of American society, are experiencing an unprecedented re-birth stimulated by new economic opportunities and the influx of urban expatriates seeking an alternative to life in the city. We are doing well, living longer and riding a wave of economic buoyancy. By all accounts, the quality of life (QOL) in American communities should also be realizing an unparalleled status, fueled by our material and economic well-being.

However, several scholars of the American community argue that civic and community life are in crisis (de Souza Briggs, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 1993). Despite the growth and prosperity in economic sectors, the infrastructures and human networks that contribute to strong, healthy, civically engaged communities are in decline and disrepair. These scholars argue for greater emphasis to be placed on noneconomic factors such as social capital, civic infrastructures, civic engagement and interpersonal relationships in

community development efforts. They assert that the future of community, civil society and QOL in the United States depends on this shift.

These are important issues to explore and are rooted in longstanding scientific debates over the relative importance of material versus structural or ideological components in one's life and community. Although it is clear that economic stability is an integral component of personal and community QOL, it may not be as significant as economists and other materialist-leaning social scientists maintain. Additionally, the quiet decline of civic engagement and inter-household relationships (community life) in the United States emphasizes the need to understand the importance of these factors in QOL preferences.

In this dissertation I examine issues important to the above debate for two communities on the Northern Plains: Emmons County, ND and Standing Rock Reservation, ND/SD. Specifically, I test the hypothesis that civic engagement is a more significant factor in community QOL and community optimism for the future than economic factors (e.g. household income) or perceptions of positive community change. Civic engagement is fundamental to good community QOL and community optimism because trust and personal relationships create a supportive context for pursuing shared or individual goals and provide a broader sense of support and security than do household income and other subjective economic factors. Furthermore, perceived strengths in civic engagement are the foundation for subjective notions of positive community change and optimism for the future, because community members gain confidence from the support and possibilities of collective action relative to individual efficacy (i.e., there is strength in numbers when approaching a problem or challenge).

In addition to testing the above hypothesis, I also identify group specific QOL preferences for the good community, and compare these constructions to determine commonalities and differences among and within Native American and European American communities. Finally, I explore community needs and strengths, and group-specific preferences for a good life and an ideal community, to better understand how macro and micro constructions of QOL manifest themselves across distinct groups that share space and time. Taken together these findings are used to guide further discussions on community development agendas for the Great Plains.

In Chapter 1 I outline my dissertation, clarify the problem of civic decline, discuss this decline relative to communities of the Great Plains and describe the research setting. Additionally, I explain the theoretical positions, methodological approaches and research problems related to these issues that are addressed throughout the dissertation.

Materialism or materialist theory does not guide the examination of QOL preferences and community optimism relative to material versus nonmaterial community attributes in this dissertation. It is not my goal to explain or identify the underlying material, historical or other causal mechanisms for why people prefer certain QOL attributes or have certain opinions about community life. It is also not within the purview of this dissertation to explain how or why certain community conditions, social problems, ideologies or social structures currently exist relative to unique historical, material, ideological or structural developments. Instead, this dissertation explores the subjective responses and QOL preferences of community members, both material and nonmaterial, in an effort

to better understand what people value and how these values can inform community development practice and policy in rural communities.

The theoretical foundation for this exploration is praxis theory. Vazquez (1977) asserts that praxis-guided research is both present and future focused, with an emphasis on change relative to felt and anticipatory needs. Praxis theory stresses the effects of action to address real needs and alter future conditions, rather than interpretations of past events that have influenced or resulted in these conditions. This is not to say that praxis theory is necessarily ahistorical, but rather, that the focus of a praxis-driven research is to explore and catalyze action toward social and community change relative to the preferences of contextualized agents. Researchers, practitioners and community members should draw on history in praxis theory when it highlights the need for specific contemporary changes and pathways for collective action in actualizing these changes within communities. In Chapters 1 and 2 I discuss the premises of this theory, outline the essential building blocks for community revival and provide an agenda for implementing praxis-driven community-based research as one tool in civic renewal efforts.

In Chapter 3 I describe the implementation entity for this dissertation, The Central Dakota Quality of Life and Local History Project. This project drew on praxis theory and the agenda described in Chapter 2 to implement community-building projects; to provide community development feedback to local decision-makers; and to collect data for the scientific exploration of theories, hypotheses and propositions related to community QOL and material versus nonmaterial factors in QOL preferences.

Research findings are summarized and discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. These chapters also include a description of felt and anticipatory needs, important for community planning and development. In Chapter 6 I also conclude with a discussion of the contributions made by this dissertation, a summary of the issues raised throughout the preceding chapters and recommendations for national and regional community development policy.

Civic and Community Decline in the United States

"Ask not what your country can do for you . . . ask what you can do for your country"
John F. Kennedy

Kennedy's inspiring charge was merely a pithy crescendo echoing the already rising importance of civic engagement in the United States during the 1950s and 60s. In his groundbreaking work, "Bowling Alone", Robert Putnam (2000) asserts that the 1960s were the nadir of civic engagement and community life during the 20th century. Fueled by the spirit and hubris of a post WWII generation who had won the war and could do anything, the catalytic energy of the ongoing Civil Rights movement, unprecedented social and material affluence, record college attendance and a race to reach the moon; Americans were organized, engaged and energized to work together for an even better tomorrow. Community was a central part of American life, and people were connected to each other through the networks and activities of that place they all called home.

In the 1960s Herbert Gans (1967) reported that the community members of "Levitown" were "hyper-active joiners"--engaged and involved in all facets of community from the social to the civic, from the political to the aesthetic. Putnam (2000) reported that in 1964 77% of all Americans felt they could trust their

neighbors, 36% expressed a desire that their children enter political life (the highest rating this indicator would ever receive) and voter turnout was at an all-time high. The number of community organizations, clubs and community activities was reaching a zenith (Putnam, 2000). There were numerous opportunities for community members to be engaged with each other; and more often than not, they spent their time in their communities, with their fellow community members, working on civic issues and concerns, sharing coffee and card games. These were healthy communities, strong communities, where people were interested in each other and interconnected. Life was lived more on front porches than backyard decks. Property lines were shared by people; not by privacy fences separating his and hers from theirs. However, at the end of the 20th century, students of the American community and civil society began painting a dramatically different community portrait.

Putnam (2000) asserts that Americans "have been pulled apart from one another and from their communities over the last third of the century." Americans are going to church less, having dinner at home with their neighbors more infrequently, voting at an alarmingly low rate, spending less time on community projects and generally disengaging from civic activities altogether. Membership in community-based voluntary organizations has declined significantly, as has the number of these organizations in communities (Putnam, 2000).

The Roper Survey, conducted every month from 1974 to 1994, documents this decline. This survey shows that Americans are less civically engaged on all levels, from simple petition signing to running for political office, than they were 25 years ago (Putnam, 2000). The most striking decline is in those activities that

bring community members together for common action--when a project or activity involves more than the individual, the frequency of participation markedly declines (Putnam, 2000).

These are not only sociological observations; they are also recognized by Americans themselves. In 1987, 53% of all Baby Boomers thought that generations before them were better citizens and more engaged in their communities, and 77% felt that the nation as a whole was worse off because of a declining involvement in community activities (Putnam, 2000). These sentiments were again echoed in 1992 when 75% of all U.S. workers asserted that the "breakdown of community" and "selfishness" were serious problems that needed to be addressed (Putnam, 2000). By the late 1990s, 50% of all Americans thought that we were becoming less trustworthy, 80% thought that people had become less civil, and 2/3 of all Americans felt that civic life in the United States had weakened and that we were now more focused than ever on the individual (Putnam, 2000). There is a rising sentiment that more emphasis needs to be placed on community, even if it means additional demands on individuals (Putnam, 2000).

The statistics for civic decline and American public opinion reflect a contradiction in our conceptions of civic engagement, community, and personal responsibility. While American society was founded on a "we the people" mentality, it has always been rooted in an individualist ethic of success and responsibility. De Tocqueville (1945, orig. 1835) observed this tension in the 1800s when he noted that Americans are driven to participate in public affairs only when they perceive their self-interests at risk. Similarly, Hickey (1999)

commented on "American Cool," that disengaged engagement where people embody and express their beliefs without imposing them on others, where people may share expressed concerns but are disengaged from collective articulations, where they are participants in a shared world but above the "fray." Hickey traces the spirit of this special individualism or aloofness from George Washington through to contemporary art. Augmenting this attitude are the archetypal American characters of our history and culture who exude a "cool" that is self-assured, self-absorbed, self-fulfilling, assertive, cocksure and individualist. These characteristics have been promoted and perpetuated through cinematic representations of an American attitude classically portrayed by Robert Mitchum (Hickey, 1997), Steve McQueen, James Dean and others. Who could forget Steve McQueen on his motorcycle in *The Great Escape* (Clavell and Bennett - MGM, 1963)—that lone American who left the pack to do it himself; one person against barbed wire and anyone's good judgement. That's "American Cool."

Americans express an interest in and value for community and civic involvement, but they are increasingly disengaging from community activities and civic affairs. Although this individualist attitude has always existed, as De Tocqueville (1945, orig. 1835) and Hickey (1999) reveal, other factors have contributed to its intensification over the last 40 years.

Putnam (2000) suggests that we are more preoccupied by the pressures of time and money, more transient and less sedentary, less confined to the boundaries of one community, transfixed in front of the TV, transitioning out of a post WWII generation's earnestness for engagement, and influenced by federal policies that have, in some instances, disrupted community ties and

dis-empowered community decision-makers. We are spending less time in our communities, spending less time with other community members, and are less concerned about community issues as a result of these changes. We come home, turn on the TV and sit passively before the family entertainment center. We complain about the government, about the condition of our community roads, the kids on the corner, crop prices, the crack-heads in the parking lot or that intersection that needs a stop sign; but few of us know our neighbors well enough to realize that they have the same concerns. We spend our days at jobs in other communities, sitting in cars or busses to and from work, looking straight ahead or daydreaming through the windshield. We escort kids to schools across town and malls outside the beltway. We tune into the radio, tune out anything beyond our climate control and rarely vote. We walk from the bus or metro stop wondering who lives in that house down the street. We park cars in double-wide garages, doors closing before anyone sees that we've come home. New neighbors move in before we realize that old ones have moved out. If it doesn't affect us, than it doesn't bother us. Like Vonnegut's (1961: 44) romantic "nation of two" (das reich der zwei) in his novel *Mother Night*, we are increasingly becoming communities onto ourselves, by ourselves, for ourselves.

However, one should not take this discussion to mean that American life during the 1950s and 1960s was perfect. The over romanticized Norman Rockwell veneer of the 1950s conceals the many social inequalities and increasing levels of anomie that were pervasive forces during this period, and have always been significant influences on the American community. Additionally, to call the 1960s a period of political, social and community

tranquility would be ahistorical, as this period was one of the most turbulent and divisive in the 20th century. The purpose here is not to revise history, but rather, to emphasize general key differences in American communities of the past, with those at the beginning of the 21st century. While this comparison would naturally reveal that there have always been problems and issues in American communities, it more importantly highlights how our relationships to civil society and fellow community members have changed in striking ways that speak to an overall decline in social capital, civic infrastructures and civic engagement.

Although the above conclusions are most often drawn for suburbs, aging industrial centers or inner cities, they are equally true for rural areas who, though not suffering from the anomie of sprawl and urbanization, are confronting a similar decay of social, cultural and civic life. Rural communities of the Great Plains have been especially impacted by this decline.

The Great Plains

For generations the Great Plains were a place of mystery and wonder to many Americans, and continue to be that other world where few have traveled and fewer have lived. Situated in the middle of a continent, flanked by trees and mountains, cities and seaways, they are an unbroken horizon of hills and grass, meandering rivers and tireless wind--a treeless land peopled only by those who refuse to leave.

The Great Plains are also a geographic and social irony. Caught between two coasts and adjacent to green forests, they are victims of frequent droughts and depleted aquifers. Recognized as the breadbasket of America full of promise and bounty, they are the social and cultural outpost for a nation built on

farms but defined by cities. Driven by mechanized agriculture, guided by information from satellites, chemically dependent on silver iodide crystals and ammonium nitrate; men and women still fight battles for survival against the whims of weather while clutching rosaries and relying on indefatigable faith rather than science. They are America's growing frontier, fueled by population decline, infrequent rain and falling crop prices. It is one of the only regions in America where there are more frontier counties today than there were at the turn of the 20th century. The Great Plains are that journey where one must travel to the middle of America to find the edge of America, a vast place west of "the heart of the heart of the country" (Gass, 1958) that holds tight to a fast fading past and patiently waits for a better tomorrow.

Will there be a better tomorrow? This question has been posed and answered by explorers, developers and scholars since the early 1800s when Lewis and Clark first crossed the Great Plains under the banner of manifest destiny. Although westward expansion was considered pre-ordained, the question of whether the Great Plains were suitable for human habitation would be a lingering debate throughout the 19th century, and beyond.

After exploring the central and southern plains Zebulon Pike compared the region to African deserts. Subsequent explorers agreed with his assertions and on maps throughout the first half of the 19th century this region was labeled "The Great American Desert." Although this filled many Americans with a sense of mystery about the Great Plains, it did not inspire settlement or optimism for the region and its future. This attitude did not change until after the Civil War.

In the late 1800's, Walt Whitman proclaimed that the Great Plains and prairies of America's middle were not an American desert but instead a "newer garden of creation" (Whitman, 1982). Whitman's metaphor was not a poetic isolate, but rather, part of a larger movement that transformed and re-conceptualized the Great Plains as a green Shangri La, empty of people but full of potential for those willing to work hard and take a risk. Land companies, railroads, scientists, news media and western states all advertised the ample opportunities and virtues of this new Garden of Eden, and widely recruited immigrants from more populated parts of the country and Europe to settle the region (Emmons, 1971). Settlement and development were booming, hopes were high, and people filled their present with dreams for an abundant and prosperous future. Although the Great Plains are clearly not a desert, the unbridled optimism felt for this region in the late 19th century quickly faded as the reality of life and hardship took hold for those who settled the region.

Droughts struck the Great Plains in the 1870s, 1890s, 1920s and 1930s. Situated between these droughts were wet years, good years, prosperous years. However, the economic and natural disasters of the Dust Bowl and Great Depression began a process of depopulation and community decline that has continued through to today on the Great Plains. Ironically, the 1930s represent the nadir of Great Plains population and civic development. Although production increased and modern infrastructure has replaced dirt roads, supplied indoor plumbing, and wired people with telephone and electrical lines--small towns are disappearing, abandoned farms outnumber active farms, and crop prices are lower than many can remember. Clubs and organizations are disbanding for lack

of interest or membership and social networks are withering with aged shut-ins and low population densities. Businesses are closing and young people are leaving for opportunities in the growing metro areas that lie on the western and eastern fringes of the Great Plains.

This state of ongoing decline led Frank and Deborah Popper (1987) to proclaim that the fields and pastures of the Great Plains should be returned to their natural state and the entire region west of the 98th meridian to the Rocky Mountains transformed into a vast nature preserve, a "buffalo commons." The Poppers prophesized a bleak future for the region. They argued that agriculture, the economic foundation for the region, was not well suited to the Great Plains and that the area had developed well beyond its economic carrying capacity. Soon, they asserted, the Great Plains would be virtually deserted.

The "buffalo commons" proposition was quickly picked up by wire services, regional newspapers and local news providers, and broadly disseminated throughout the Great Plains. It should be no surprise that the Poppers assertions immediately became a source of frustration and resentment for those who live on the Great Plains. Despite its label as a vanishing America, and overall population and civic decline since the 1930s, the Great Plains continue to attract a trickle of new residents who choose it as their home and native sons and daughters who return after life in the city. These new and return residents join the "lifers" who have carved out an existence and refuse to give up hope for their homes and communities on the Great Plains. Yet the question still remains, is there a better tomorrow for these communities given the current state of their civic and economic decline?

Nowhere is this question more important than on the Northern Plains. Here where population decline has been pressing and continuous, the farm crisis relentless, and Native American reservations ranking as some of the poorest communities in the United States; quality of life, community sustainability and answers to civic decline, or stagnation, demand the attention of scholars, practitioners, governments, and service providers. In this dissertation I explore these issues for two communities on the Northern Plains: Emmons County, ND and Standing Rock Reservation, ND/SD.

Lawrence Welk and Sitting Bull are Neighbors, Ya' Know

The Missouri River follows a course through north central South Dakota and western North Dakota that was shaped by the last glacier. It carves out a piece of territory where the grass is shorter than further east, the rain less frequent, cattle more common, clocks are set to mountain time and rattlesnakes inspire caution. Locals call it "West River Country"-maps call it the Missouri Plateau - state and federal agencies refer to it as economically depressed.

Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation are two communities that have been tied together and split apart by the Missouri River. Emmons County is on the eastern bank, riding the high fringe of "West River Country." Standing Rock Reservation is on the western bank and rises from the Missouri Breaks with a vista full of western history and imagery. In the past, people crossed the river by horse, small boat or rope tow ferry. Today, the oak trees that once shaded the Missouri Valley are covered by river water held back by the Oahe Dam. Christened by Kennedy, built to protect Omaha and Kansas City from spring flooding, this dam and the Oahe Reservoir that it produced created a

wall between these communities that only few now cross. The river that once connected these communities now separates them in mystery and mistrust. Many on both sides assert that, "it's another world over there, ya' know".

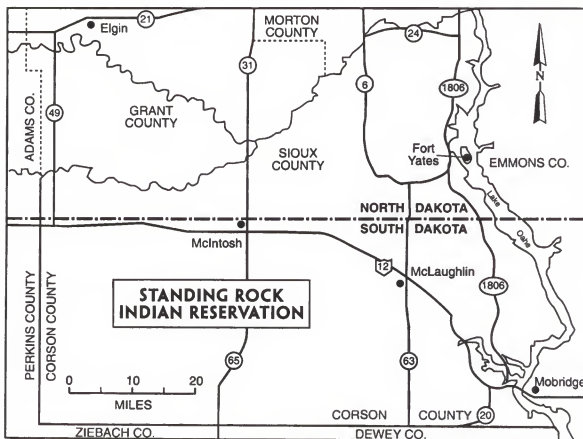


Figure 1. Standing Rock Reservation, ND/SD and Emmons County, ND (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995)

Emmons County, ND

When he was young, Lawrence Welk played gigs at the Blue Room in Strasburg, ND. It was the polka equivalent of Sun Records, in that, Sun Records discovered Elvis Presley, and the Blue Room launched the career of Lawrence Welk (both of whom-it should be noted-recorded a version of "Blue Suede Shoes"). Lawrence Welk, the king of bubble music and son of German-Russian immigrants, is also the best-known person to have lived and left Emmons County. If you visit Strasburg, ND today you can tour his childhood farm in the

southern portion of the county, a state-recognized historic landmark, that during the summer, is often visited by RV retirees who remember his music and include this stop as part of their trip to trace the Lewis and Clark Trail. Although Lawrence Welk is still tapping out beats in colorful polyester, powered by celluloid resuscitation on PBS, the community in which he "came up" has not been preserved so kindly by time.

Emmons County has an agricultural economic base of small grains, livestock and dairy. Although telecommunications employment opportunities developed in several communities, and some in the northern portion of the county are driving to Bismarck, ND (an hour drive—the state capital) for work, the county and its communities continue to depend on the ups and downs of the agricultural economy. These ups and downs, along with technological and social changes, have been major factors in shaping the stability of communities in Emmons County.

In the 1930s Emmons County had a population approaching 12,500 (US Census Bureau, 1990). Today the county population is 4,800 (US Census Bureau, 1990) and falling. This is approximately a 300% decline in population over the last 60 to 70 years, much of it fueled by cyclical farm crises, mechanization, poor crop prices, lower birth rates, land consolidation (the number of farms decreased by 12% during the 1980s and 1990s while the amount of land being farmed stayed constant) (North Dakota State University Agricultural Extension Service, 1999) and out-migration for work in urban areas, either within the Dakotas, or Minneapolis and Denver. Despite this decline, a handful of communities are holding together, including Linton, ND, the county

seat and largest town in the area with 1,600 residents (1/3 of the county's population). The overall population density of Emmons County (1505 square miles) is approximately three persons per square mile (although if you subtract those living in towns, the rural population density is less than one person per square mile).

A large proportion of county residents are elderly or approaching retirement age. The median age for the county is 40 years. Approximately 37% of the county's population is over the age of 50 (US Census Bureau, 1990). Unlike Florida and Arizona, the most popular retirement destination points for northern retirees, the elderly of North Dakota and other Midwestern states have aged in place while the young have moved on to new opportunities in larger communities. This skews the proportion of aged residents in the community population pyramid beyond what is normally found in industrialized nations. In Emmons County the population pyramid is disproportionately broad at the top relative to younger cohorts (Table 1). Thus, the dependency ratio for Emmons county is .892 (Job Service North Dakota, 1990), meaning that almost half the population needs to be supported by those who are of working age.

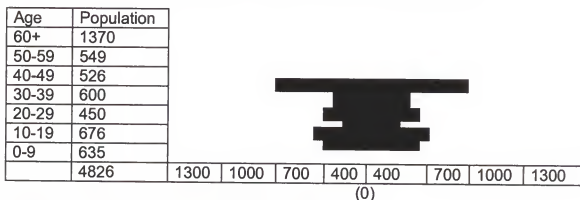


Table 1. Emmons County Population Pyramid
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990)

Unfortunately, the farm economy on the Great Plains is again taking a downturn and suicide prevention hotlines for farmers have reappeared, opening their phone banks to deal with those who have lost their farms, as they did during the agricultural declines of the 1980s. The per capita income of Emmons County has fallen to \$8,000 (28% below the North Dakota state average of \$11,000), unemployment has risen to 6% (well above the North Dakota state average of 1.4%) and 25% of all families live below the poverty line (Job Service North Dakota, 1990). These factors have intensified the county dependency ratio and put stress on the social fabric of local communities.

However, hardship and perseverance are things the people of Emmons County understand well. Most of the current residents (greater than 75%) have Germans-from-Russia heritage (Sherman, 1988). Germans-from-Russia are Catholics who left Germany on promises for a new life offered by Catherine the Great of Russia (herself German) and the Tsars that followed her (Sherman, 1988; Arends, 1989; Tweton, 1999; Kloberdanz, 1988 describe German-Russian culture and history in both Europe and the United States). Their migration was intensified during the Napoleonic Wars of the early 19th century, which caused thousands of residents from southern Germany to leave their homes for Russia and other countries. These German immigrants were settled in the Black Sea area of Russia as a buffer to Turkish advancement during the 18th and 19th Centuries. In the late 19th century, Tsars began revoking the special privileges granted to these settlers (e.g., exemption from military conscription or draft) and many migrated to the United States, recruited by railroad companies such as the Milwaukee Line. The disembarking point for immigrants traveling to the Great

Plains via the Milwaukee Line was Eureka, SD (20 miles south of Emmons County, ND and the ND/SD state line). From this point, immigrants fanned out in a northern direction and settled a large area that is now referred to as the "German-Russian Triangle" in the Dakotas. Emmons County is in the heart of this triangle and is one of the centers for German-Russian ethnic identity and culture on the Northern Plains. Historically this group has been very conservative, primarily agricultural and less involved in North Dakota politics or civic issues than other ethnic groups (e.g., Scandinavians) (Sherman, 1988; Arends, 1989; Tweton, 1999; Klobardanz, 1988). In cafes and in Catholic churches one can still hear old German spoken during mass or over a hot flieshkukla, and nearly 31% of Emmons County residents were bilingual in English and German as late as 1980 (Sherman, 1988). Exchange programs between German communities from Europe and Russia and small towns in Emmons County take place every summer, and polka music can be heard alongside country and western songs during community gatherings or festivals. Despite their diaspora, struggles in Russia, difficult immigration to North Dakota, frequent droughts, poor farm prices, oppressive winters, ongoing resource scarcity and current community declines, the Germans-from-Russia in Emmons County still hold tight to their life on the plains. They've persevered through time and have never stopped waiting for a better tomorrow.

However, communities in Emmons County are changing in ways that may be irreversible. Where farms once were, empty buildings now stand. Where schools were once filled with kids, coaches now fight to field a football team. Where businesses once flourished, the few remaining stores now struggle to

survive. The networks supporting social capital, though still strong on many levels, are beginning to fray and fall apart. The local civic infrastructure that once engaged community members in concerts at the Blue Room, card games at the fire hall or club meetings on Sunday night is buckling under the pressure of population loss, a lack of interest and economic decline.

Standing Rock Reservation, ND/SD

No one really knows where Sitting Bull is buried (Utley, 1993), despite two historical markers identifying his grave, one in South Dakota overlooking the Missouri River near Mobridge and another in North Dakota outside the agency town of Ft. Yates. Locals and scholars alike assert that his grave in North Dakota has been robbed and ransacked numerous times (Utley, 1993), most recently in the 1950s when a group of tribal members from the South Dakota side of Standing Rock Reservation allegedly exhumed his remains and reburied them near Mobridge, SD, under tons of railroad iron and concrete. Numerous others have made similar claims to reburying Sitting Bull in other locations, while officials on the North Dakota side of the reservation maintain that Sitting Bull continues to rest peacefully on the Ft. Yates flats along the Missouri River (Utley, 1993). Like his remains, Sitting Bull's people have also been scattered, dispossessed and marginalized, yet Standing Rock Reservation remains a homeland for the Hunkpapa, Sihasapa (Western Division – Teton / Saones – Lakota), Ihanktonwana and the Hunkpatina (Middle Division – Yankton – Nakota) (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995; Buechel, 1970).

The Teton / Saones, Yankton and Santee (Eastern Division) are three linguistically and culturally similar groups who are often collectively referred to as

the Sioux and speak Lakota, Nakota and Dakota, all mutually intelligible Siouan dialects (Ruhlen, 1987). The word Sioux is a French embellishment of the 17th century Ojibwa word "Nadouwesou", which means "adders". Although many today (including some reservation residents) refer to the Standing Rock people as Sioux, it is more common for tribally enrolled members to use linguistic identifiers (such as Lakota or Dakota) rather than band or ethnic labels (e.g. Sisasapa, Hunkpatina, Teton, Yankton etc.) when describing their ethnicity. Additionally, though Standing Rock Reservation is composed of Teton (Lakota) and Yankton (Nakota) peoples, most tribal members refer to the Yankton bands as Dakota and not Nakota, lumping both Nakota and Dakota (Santee) peoples together into one macro Dakota group. As such, throughout this dissertation, I will refer to the people of Standing Rock as Lakota and Dakota peoples. I will use these labels because this is how they refer to themselves, despite the fact that they are language names, and not band or ethnic labels, and that the use of Dakota as a general term for the middle and eastern bands is inaccurate given the ethnic history and development of those who were originally settled on the reservation.

In their own languages Lakota and Dakota mean "friend or allies" and refers to their alliance through the Seven Council Fires or Oceti Sakowin (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995; Utley, 1993; Hassrick, 1967; Grobsmith, 1981; Ortiz, 1977; Kraft, 1986 and Lawson, 1982 provide a detailed discussion of Lakota, Nakota and Dakota culture and history). The Lakota and Dakota were originally woodland peoples who lived in the Great Lakes area prior to European contact. However, beginning in the 17th century the Ojibwa and

Cree, who had obtained guns from French fur traders, gradually began to push the Lakota and Dakota westward. The Dakota settled in an area that now covers western Minnesota and Eastern North and South Dakota, while the Lakota moved further west and onto the mixed and short grass plains of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Nebraska and Wyoming. After the introduction of horses on the Great Plains, Lakota and Dakota culture was characterized by an equestrian and nomadic life way that fueled an increasing sphere of influence, power and population growth. By the time Lewis and Clark visited the region at the turn of the 19th century, the Lakota (especially) and Dakota had become two of the most populous and powerful groups on the Northern Plains. However, through a series of treaties and skirmishes with the United States government, beginning with the Ft. Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868 through to the Treaty of 1889, the Lakota and Dakota were gradually restricted to reservations of diminishing land area.

Today, the Hunkpapa and Sihasapa bands of the Lakota primarily reside on the South Dakota side of the Standing Rock Reservation while the Ihanktonwana and Hunkpatina bands of the Dakota (or more specifically Nakota) generally reside on the North Dakota side of Standing Rock Reservation. Standing Rock Reservation is situated in Southwestern North Dakota and Northwestern South Dakota on the North Dakota / South Dakota border. It encompasses all of Sioux County North Dakota, all of Corson County, South Dakota and portions of Dewey and Zeibach Counties, South Dakota.

The reservation is composed of 2.3 million acres, of which only 950,000 acres, or 41%, is Indian owned (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction,

1995). The Indian owned land base has been gradually eroded by federal policies and development projects. The allotment act and land takings for the construction of the Oahe Dam drastically reduced Indian owned lands in the western portion of the reservation and along the Missouri river valley (which was inundated) (Lawson, 1982; Kraft, 1986). As such, most of the tribally enrolled members living on Standing Rock Reservation reside in a 70 mile by 40 mile area between the Missouri Breaks overlooking the Oahe Reservoir and an east / west line near McIntosh, SD.

Unlike most North and South Dakota counties, population on Standing Rock Reservation has been increasing. Standing Rock Reservation has over 11,000 tribally enrolled members and approximately 8,198 of these enrollees live on the reservation (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995; U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). Many enrolled members migrated to cities during the Indian relocation programs of the 60s and 70s, have subsequently joined relatives in these localities, or have left the reservation to pursue job opportunities off the reservation. The lack of jobs on the reservation is the single greatest reason causing tribal members to move elsewhere (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995), and there is often a revolving door of migration from the reservation to urban areas and back again, which confuses statistical reporting of population and out-migration. Despite this ongoing out-migration, the Standing Rock population has fluctuated between stasis and growth through higher than average fertility rates. The population pyramid for the reservation is similar to a developing country with better than 50% of the population age 19 or younger (a sharp contrast from the age structure for

Emmons County, ND that was reported earlier – Table 2) (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990; North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995; Sitting Bull College, 1997). Approximately 75% of all residents on Standing Rock Reservation reported American Indian heritage in the 1990 census, with the remaining 25% being primarily European American (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). The largest communities are Ft. Yates, ND, the agency town, and McLaughlin, SD. Both of these towns are service, government and business centers for the reservation.

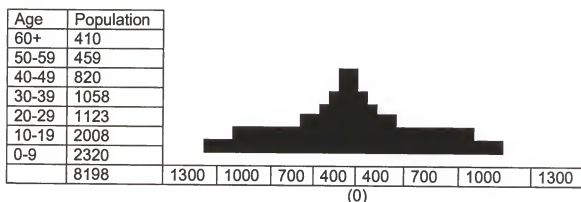


Table 2. Standing Rock Reservation Population Pyramid
(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1990)

Historically, the most under-developed and disadvantaged areas of the Great Plains have been Indian Reservations. Standing Rock Reservation is consistent with this generalization, and unemployment, poverty and sub-standard housing occur at higher rates than non-reservation counties in the surrounding area. In 1997, Sioux and Ziebach counties on Standing Rock Reservation were ranked the 16th and 7th poorest counties in the United States with 47-51% of all residents falling below the poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). The unemployment rate among potential labor force participants (any person above age 16 excluding those who are students or unable to work) is 76% (Sitting Bull

College, 1997), while state (ND & SD) reported unemployment rates for the local labor force (those persons employed or seeking work) are approximately 30% (Sitting Bull College, 1997). Clearly, the availability of economic and employment opportunities on the Standing Rock Reservation is appallingly low. Less than 9% of the Standing Rock population has a per capita income greater than \$9,000.00 (Sitting Bull College, 1997).

The local economy, outside of European American farmers, is driven by inputs from government, schools and casinos. The construction of two Casinos in the last decade promised new economic and employment opportunities for tribal members, however, these new enterprises have not eliminated the unemployment problem on the reservation, although their contribution to the local economy and district government resources has been substantial. Despite this new growth area, the local economy remains relatively undiversified and fueled by government expenditures or investments, while the local population continues to be predominately low income and out of work.

Traditional Lakota and Dakota culture stresses the importance of inter-household and community cohesiveness. Central to this ethic is the concept of "mitakuye oyasin" or we are all related (North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, 1995; Utley, 1993; Hassrick, 1967; Grobsmith, 1981 and Ortiz, 1977). This expression epitomizes the traditional emphasis on strong inter-household relations and cooperation as core Lakota and Dakota beliefs. However, poverty and resource scarcity, coupled with high rates of substance abuse and culturally destructive public policies (such as "Indian courts of offenses") have created a fragmented community context where hopelessness, violence, crime and

depression are endemic and traditional forms of social support weakened. Boarding schools and foster care policies have divided families and contemporary political divisiveness across districts and related groups of people have split the reservation into feuding factions that serve to undo each other and undermine collective community action. The civic infrastructure that once engaged tribal members in collective gatherings and inter-household cooperation is in decline. Although "wacipi's" (powwows) continue and giveaways are still conducted throughout the reservation, many complain that these functions have changed and no longer engender the same kind of inter-household cooperation or community spirit that they once did. Today, fewer youth know their relations and fewer community members are willing to help each other or work collectively to make their community a better place to live.

The Lakota and Dakota were among the last native peoples to fight the United States and surrender their homelands. They have persevered small pox, reservation life, relocations, massacres and years of cultural and economic marginality. They have refused to give up their hold on a homeland that, although riddled with issues and problems, and lacking economic opportunities, still maintains itself as that place where their relatives and hope for a better tomorrow reside.

Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation are representative of the problems facing rural communities and Indian reservations on the Great Plains. An exploration of the QOL in these communities can highlight paths for addressing community and civic decline throughout the region. The QOL concept has long been an appropriate mechanism for revealing such agendas,

and the exploration of micro level QOL preferences for a good community provides group specific concerns and community development priorities that can guide community and civic revitalization efforts for these communities. This exploration will also reveal the degree to which Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation are "different worlds", as residents often asserted, and evaluate the relative importance of civic engagement in their QOL preferences.

Quality of Life and The Good Community

An interest in what constitutes *the good community* has been an ongoing theme among philosophers and students of the human condition. In the *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle enumerated virtues that would promote human good or flourishing (Nussbaum, 1993). Thoreau critiqued the content of daily life and made suggestions for a better one free from material bondage (Thoreau, 1980). Adam Smith and John Locke, among others, focused upon the primacy of individual achievement in developing conceptions of a good society, community or life (Gerson, 1976). These and many other social theorists were discussing the philosophical and practical underpinnings of *the good community* long before this type of inquiry became associated with the term QOL.

Contemporary research into QOL has its origins in *the social indicator movement*. Social indicators are defined as "... statistics of direct normative interest which facilitate concise, comprehensive and balanced judgements about the conditions of major aspects of a society" (Andrews & Withey, 1976). Since the early 1920s social indicators have been used in varying degrees and manners to assess QOL in the United States.

The first stirrings of what would become *the social indicator movement* appeared in 1929 with suggestions for regular national social reports and the subsequent formation of President Hoover's committee on Social Trends (Smith, 1973). The report prepared by this committee, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, attempted to analyze social factors that would provide a broad description of the trends in American life, with special emphasis on those that might have bearing on public policy - focusing mainly on industrial efficiency, mechanization, institutions and rates of change in various sectors of society (Smith, 1973). However, the seminal work of Hoover's committee on social trends did little to stimulate a program of research into social indicators.

It wasn't until after World War II that social indicators once again caught the attention of researchers and policy makers interested in assessing the national condition. At this time, researchers began employing the term QOL when referring to the status of American life as measured by social indicators (Alexander & Williams, 1981). Social indicators research during this period was dominated by efforts to measure societal QOL through objective measures of affluence, that assessed material well-being and living standards through quantifiable items such as the possession of consumer goods (Farquhar, 1995).

QOL research, though still heavily materialist in substance, was conceptually broadened during the Eisenhower administration of the late 1950s and early 1960s in reports from the Commission of National Goals, which included such added factors as education, concern for the individual, economic growth, health, and many other items (Farquhar, 1995; Parse, 1994). However,

it wasn't until the late 1960s that QOL began to assume its present conceptual breadth.

Spurned by the political unrest and social change of this period, there was increased interest in individual concerns and attitudes relative to *the good community* that resulted in the expansion of QOL dimensions beyond those of simple material affluence, adding such domains as freedom, leisure, emotion, enjoyment, and personal caring (Campbell, 1981; Farquhar, 1995). The philosophical re-orientation of U.S. society and culture during the 1960s, and critical assessments of objective, highly material, QOL measures, provided the necessary context for the development of a *subjective social indicators movement*. This new epistemological platform argued that people's subjective responses are real, and that they act on the basis of them--begging the necessity of including such perspectives in the evaluation of QOL (Abrams, 1973).

QOL began to attract serious attention from behavioral and social scientists during the early 1970s in their efforts to evaluate the new social programs that were implemented as part of Johnson's "Great Society" agenda and the effects these programs had on the lives of recipients (i.e., were the programs really improving people's lives? (Legro, 1991). Although QOL research was receiving increased attention in the evaluation of social conditions during the early 1970s, it was still not widely cited or mentioned in the literature prior to 1975 (Parse, 1994), at which point interest in this topic dramatically increased and experienced steady growth through the early 1980s (Campos & Johnson, 1990). Since the early 1980s QOL research has gone through a decline in some areas of application (especially government policy analysis) and rapid growth in

others (such as medicine); yet, through these ups and downs it remains an oft cited term and concept with wide applications, importance in the formation and articulation of social policy and utility in accessing social change (Farquhar, 1995; Golant & McCutcheon, 1980, Andrews, 1986).

QOL has developed into a term that encompasses an individual's conception of *the good community*, subjective and objective assessments of one's current life quality, needs and aspirations related to the ideal *good community* and the deficiencies of one's current situation relative to this community. In evaluating QOL, researchers employ a variety of methods and terms, each attempting to measure different and sometimes overlapping clusters of variables that are considered important components of QOL or independent proxies for QOL. Some of the more common variable clusters in measuring QOL include: "well-being", "ill-being", "happiness", "satisfaction", "mental health", "adaptive functioning", "morale", "physical and mental anguish", "pain and suffering", and "affect balance" (Andrews, 1986). However, the complex nature of QOL as a concept makes its measurement difficult. Thus, the approach, method or variable cluster that most completely captures the essence of QOL with any degree of validity is still a subject of debate. Despite this fact, it is possible to conceptually and practically deconstruct QOL preferences in order to better understand its expression within and across groups.

Whose good life: The social construction of QOL expression

QOL preferences are articulated and constructed on many levels. Primarily we can speak of three tiers in its social construction: macro, micro, and individual. These tiers are not discrete, instead, they overlap, and are

differentially expressed within each individual so that to a lesser or greater degree we are tied to common stocks of knowledge or individual subjectivities that exert influence upon our expression and perception of QOL.

The macro-level versus micro-level distinction and articulation in the expression of social, group or individual identity has been expressed by many theorists, including, Ferdinand Tonnies (1996, orig. 1887) (*gemeinschaft* versus *gesellschaft*), Emile Durkheim (1984, orig. 1893), (mechanical versus organic solidarity), and Robert Redfield (1930, 1940) (the folk / urban continuum, and little traditions versus great traditions), among others. Even more specific, within these social agglomerations, anthropological and sociological research has done much to further our understanding of ethnic, gender, cohort, SES, and individual differences as they relate to the communities we live in and the larger macro-social structure in which they are embedded. Furthermore, the nature of social construction within any of these levels has been thoroughly discussed by the likes of Mannheim (1936), and more recently, Berger and Luckman (1966). The following discussion will appropriate from the insights offered by these scholars in order to conceptually deconstruct the social construction of QOL preferences.

Berger and Luckman (1966) assert that "specific agglomerations of reality and knowledge pertain to specific contexts". Furthermore, they assert that there are multiple realities, that our consciousness is capable of moving through many of these different realities and that among these realities there is one which presents itself to the individual as the reality "par excellence". There is the "macroscopic universe of meaning objectivated"--a macro-reality structure that represents mainstream culture and the inter-individual, inter-group commonality

that holds us to a specific construct of life, the good community and our sense of an American identity. However, there are also subuniverses that deviate from this universal common stock of knowledge within society, these are subcultures from the mainstream--group or location specific micro-realities. Finally, there is the subjective interpretation of reality constructed by an individual with a specific biography. This is not an expression of idiosyncrasy, but rather, a product derivative of the contexts that socially construct an individual. Humans are not monolithic; down to the individual we are all different in specific ways because of these unique biographies. Yet, individual subjective interpretations of objectified reality, as well as the subuniverse reality structures that shape us in different ways, are under a constant homogenizing pressure from the institutions of mainstream society. This pressure brings group and individual conceptions more or less in line with the objectified truths of a macro-reality and the general common stock of knowledge. Within this general common stock of knowledge is a constructed conception of what is a desirable QOL, a thought model for *the good community*.

A macro-reality cannot be realized in a large and diverse society until there are social institutions that cross disparate subgroups or individuals and provide a common grounding in a general stock of knowledge. These institutions produce a macro-social context that all people come into contact with in one way or another. This common context stimulates inter-subjective discourse on reality and produces an inter-subjective sedimentation of the macro-reality structure among members of society.

The content of this general common stock of knowledge is not static. Instead, its historical progression is dialectical, so that, thesis is contradicted by anti-thesis, the conflict of the two providing a synthesis that incorporates aspects of both. In this progression, the general common stock of knowledge is added to and altered, retaining components and adding new ones, ever on the move as the institutions of society change and new situations arise that demand different subjective interpretations and subsequent objectifications. This world is taken for granted by those who are born into it, less so by those who have seen the changes and remember a different common reality. However, until this century the homogenizing influence of these institutions (e.g., government, education, media and the like) was seriously circumscribed by their inability to enter the lives of people with a message bearing sufficient strength and clarity to produce an objectified reality that could be unambiguously sedimented across individuals and groups. This is not to say that we have reached a level of integration and inter-subjectivity at the societal level that has produced a totalizing and homogenous subjective perspective, but that, in earlier periods of US history an American identity and conception of *the good community* were far more fragmented than today--by region, by ethnicity, from city to city, rural versus urban etc.

Macro-level plausibility structures and legitimating institutions are stronger today than they once were. With improved communications, transportation, and access to information, the Federal Government and its established ideologies exert a greater unifying affect across all those who identify themselves as Americans, producing an inter-subjective sedimentation of what a member of

society should expect from life. Additionally, the standardization and realization of universal public education and the proliferation of educational attainment in general have also been major factors promoting mainstream perspectives of *the good community* within the macro-social edifice. However, more significant than these have been the homogenizing pressures from industrial capitalism, advertising and the media.

Industrial capitalism and its ideological instrument of consumer construction, advertising, have played a major role in the development of an inter-subjective sedimentation for *the good community*. Ewen (1976) asserts that the aim of advertising, from its beginning, has been the construction of a consumption ethic and homogenous desire for both necessities and objects of marginal utility. In this effort, products are advertised as much as values and lifestyle, all of which become intertwined in an iteration of what is meant by *the good community*. Chomsky and Herman (1988) point to the added influences of mainstream mass media and other information sources in the construction of a shared objectified reality. Here, visions of what the world is or could be pass through many filters before being disseminated to society at large. The resulting message is a socially constructed version of reality, one that, with few exceptions, reinforces *the truths* within a society's general common stock of knowledge.

With the proliferation of print media, radio, television, and digital technologies the general common stock of knowledge has become an aspect of our daily lives. The television has literally replaced the hearth in homes across America as the centerpiece for after work relaxation. Mass communications and

computer-mediated environments have facilitated a level of inter-subjective communication that is unprecedented in history. The result is a general common stock of knowledge that is sedimented across individuals in varying degrees, and contains a mainstream conception of *the good community*. QOL preferences present themselves as an objectivated truth, a reified and natural thing within this general common stock of knowledge. Greater subjective consensus for any one component of *the good community* reflects a more complete socialization in this domain; with unambiguous expression across all domains representing full homogenization in the direction of those QOL preferences objectified at the macro-scopic level. However, as has been mentioned, socialization is never complete and the degree of attachment to these QOL preferences is dependent upon one's position *vis-a-vis* the macro-reality structure.

All individuals are members of subgroups, micro-reality structures that are subuniverses within the general common stock of knowledge. The common stock of knowledge for each subuniverse is formed in a manner similar to that for the macro-reality structure (i.e., through sub-universe specific institutions and the inter-subjective sedimentation that is a result of this shared experience and socially constructed world). Subuniverses have their own objectified truths that can overlap with those of other subuniverses and the macro-reality structure in many ways, but never completely. The degree of congruity between subuniverse QOL conceptions and those at the macro-scopic level is contingent upon many factors, all of which relate to the level of integration a particular subgroup has with the greater social whole and its corresponding institutions. Incomplete congruence between these reality structures and their common stocks of

knowledge allow members of particular subuniverses to develop conceptions of *our good community* and *their good community*, intertwined with aspects of the *good community*.

This phenomenon has been referred to as "double consciousness" (Du Bois, 1995, orig. 1903), and more recently, "bi-culturation" (Stack, 1974; Williams, 1981; Davis, 1993) by scholars studying African American specific identity and reality construction. However, it must be remembered that we are members of many subgroups, each with their own micro-reality structure. A model that focuses only on the bifurcation of reality misses the pluralism that presents itself in everyday life. More appropriately individual membership in numerous micro-realities and the dominate macro-reality, produces a condition in which each person carries a *layered consciousness*, that has many overlapping realities, each distinct in some way from the others.

Included within this *layered consciousness* is an individual's specific biography, which engenders subjective assessments of *my good community*. This personal QOL conception will vary from both *the good community* expressed in the general common stock of knowledge and *our good community* that is constructed at the subgroup level. An individual's QOL, then, is the product of macro-reality influences, subuniverse membership, strength of association to the mainstream or various micro-reality conceptions of QOL and one's own intra-subjectivity.

This discussion has described the primary tiers in QOL construction and offered a conceptual deconstruction to better understand how group specific conceptions of *the good community* are shaped. Clearly, QOL preferences are

context specific and dependent upon such things as ethnicity, rural versus urban residence, SES or class status, gender, cohort and education. However, it must also be recognized that certain QOL preferences transcend cultural or other differences. These preferences are ideal conceptions of *the good community* constructed at the macro-scope level that members of a given society value in varying degrees. Group transcendent QOL preferences are strongest in unitary societies where institutions, a shared history and inter-subjective sedimentations all work together in shaping a specific conception of the *good community*. Additionally, researchers have also discussed the possibility of universal QOL standards that transcend even societal boundaries (e.g., discussions on globalization).

Despite the importance of understanding context specific expressions of QOL, and their relationship to preferences constructed at the macro-level, few have conducted micro-level studies to disentangle group specific QOL preferences for communities or ethnic subgroups. By exploring specific sub-universe clusters at this level (e.g., ethnicity, age, education, SES/class, gender, residence, etc.) one can develop models for group specific QOL preferences that are more appropriate for understanding life and community conditions relative to a given context or subpopulation.

Anthropology and QOL

Anthropology has had little influence on these debates within mainline QOL research. To my knowledge there have been very few articles published by anthropologists that specifically address QOL, either conceptually or methodologically, and contributions by anthropologists to *Social Indicators* (the

seminal and major journal for QOL studies) are conspicuously absent. None the less, anthropologists and anthropology have pursued the exploration of QOL issues both directly and indirectly.

An interest in the evaluation of universal human needs has been an issue addressed by anthropologists for many years. Colby (1987) asserts that prominent contributions in this direction included the work of Sapir and Benedict. Important among the early anthropological research on this topic was the assertion by Lee (1948) that basic needs are not absolute but rather context derivative.

Beyond the investigation of human universals, anthropological research in general has been distinguished by its efforts to explicate local level phenomena, responses to social change, and cultural differentiation in life preferences, that can contribute to holistic understandings of QOL. Although this research has not addressed QOL by name, it has contributed to our understandings of local level processes and highlighted the importance of social considerations and cultural influences. Still, few anthropologists have directly pursued the analysis of QOL for communities or ethnic groups. Generally speaking, anthropology has only influenced the study of QOL indirectly by contributing to broader social science understandings of variation in human preferences.

However, there are notable exceptions to this assertion. In applied anthropology the improvement or mitigation of community conditions in context appropriate ways has been an ongoing concern (e.g., community studies conducted by ABT Associates – Boston, MA in the 1970s). Additionally, with the popularization of QOL research, some applied anthropologists began

incorporating explicit references to QOL as a component or focus in their community development practice and policy research (Hebert, 1996).

Medical anthropologists have played a more prominent role, relative to other anthropologists, in influencing contemporary QOL conceptualizations related to disease and illness (Hebert, 1996). Anthropological methods and perspectives have also been incorporated into many health related QOL research projects in Nursing and other medical disciplines (Hebert, 1996).

The good community, well-being and QOL related to specific communities has been one of anthropology's greatest contributions to QOL research in general. Among these contributions, Redfield (1955) urged researchers to examine conceptions of a *good life* relative to individual and community preferences. Additionally, in what is probably the most influential anthropological contribution to community well-being, Goldschmidt (1947) asserted that the well-being of a rural community is directly related to the degree of penetration by industrial agriculture (with more industrialized contexts having lower community well-being). This research is especially important when it is considered that debates over, what has come to be known as the "Goldschmidt Hypothesis," continue today among rural sociologists concerned with community QOL (e.g., Lobao et. al. 1993).

More recently, Jorgensen et. al. (1985) have added to the research on objective social indicators by exploring the potential for locally developed and defined objective indicators that are relevant to rural Native American communities in Alaska. These efforts have responded to Redfield, and

contributed to contemporary understandings of culturally specific, community constructed conceptions of *the good community*.

However, most important to this dissertation is a study conducted by Parades and Joos (1980). In this study, the authors explored the relationship between subjective community QOL evaluations, community change, income, personal QOL evaluations, and optimism or pessimism for the future among European Americans in Minnesota during the 1960s and Native Americans in Alabama during the 1970s. They found significant relationships between income and personal optimism (for a better QOL) among European Americans, whereas; there were no significant relationships between material well-being and personal or community optimism for the Creek of Alabama. However, there was a significant relationship between personal optimism and perceived community improvement among the Creek, as well as a relationship between gender, optimism/pessimism and greater material orientations toward community and personal life. From this Paredes and Joos (1980) concluded that European Americans and men were more material than Native Americans and women in their assessment of QOL or in their preferences for a good community. Additionally, they hypothesized that the greater the perceived community improvement for all residents, the less dependent on current personal economic circumstances will be an individual's optimism or pessimism for the future.

Although the Paredes and Joos (1980) study made significant contributions to our understanding of QOL preferences, life satisfaction, community satisfaction and their relationship to household economic status, ethnicity, community change, and gender, their research fell short in adequately

comparing Native American and European American populations across these variables. Paredes and Joos (1980) failed to control for time and region effects, meaning that the differences they identified between Native Americans and European Americans may have been the result of these confounding variables and not ethnicity as they asserted. Additionally, the European American data was without community ratings for several time intervals, making it difficult to explore the relationship between community change and material well being across ethnic groups. Furthermore, Paredes and Joos (1980) did not explore the importance of civic engagement relative to economic factors in preferences for *the good community*, resident optimism for the future or subjective assessments of community change.

This dissertation builds on the work of Paredes and Joos (1980) by controlling for time and region, and testing the hypothesis that civic engagement is a more significant factor in community QOL and community optimism for the future than economic factors (e.g. household income) or perceptions of positive community change. Civic engagement is fundamental to good community QOL and community optimism because trust and personal relationships create a context for success and provide a broader sense of support and security than do household income or other subjective economic factors. Additionally, perceived strengths in civic engagement are the foundation for subjective notions of positive community change and optimism for the future because community members gain confidence from the support and possibilities of collective action relative to individual efficacy (i.e., there is strength in numbers when approaching a problem or challenge).

This dissertation will also identify group specific QOL preferences for the good community, and compare these constructions to determine commonalities and differences between and within Native American and European American communities. Through this analysis, the assertion made by Paredes and Joos (1980) that European Americans and men are more material than Native Americans and women will also be re-tested, as will the relative importance of material well being in driving other subjective evaluations of community life. Finally, community needs, strengths, and group specific preferences for a good community will be explored to better understand how macro and micro constructions of QOL manifest themselves across distinct groups who share space and time.

Applied Anthropology and Civic Revival

Throughout this dissertation I am guided by praxis theory. During my research I explored issues with community members to understand their reality but also partnered with them to transform this reality. This is the essence of praxis theory—it is a dynamic model for understanding and changing our world. Generations of anthropologists have struggled to find legitimacy in combining these two perspectives, despite the historical underpinnings within anthropology for such an approach. This debate has been especially active over the last 30 years and has raised questions about the purpose and role for anthropology in society.

In 1969 Dell Hymes et.al. explored anthropology as an anachronism, a product of a particular historical circumstance that had run its course, exhausted its utility. If given a second chance could anthropology develop again, what

would or should be its purpose or focus, how should theory be approached, how should students be trained, what role would the discipline play in society? These were important questions to raise at the end of the 1960s, when numerous disciplines and institutions were going through similar critical deconstructions and transformations.

Hymes was questioning the academic isolation of anthropology and the relevance of its focus. Anthropologists were stuck in the "tribal slot" (Linsdström, 1999) and making a poor transition to applying their knowledge in the emerging public sectors of developing and developed multi-ethnic, intra and inter-connected, boundary porous nation states, where the notion of discrete and traditional tribal peoples was quickly fading. For many, the future of anthropology was in question—should it, or could it, be reinvented—and what would be its focus? For Hymes the answer laid in content flexibility, breadth and public relevance; anthropology should *be the study of humankind and its issues, problems, and challenges*, regardless of the community context and level of cultural, social or infrastructure development. The message was clear, leave your pith hats at home and rally near where the rubber hits the road.

Of course the questions raised by Hymes and his fellow contributors were themselves a product of a particular moment, an outgrowth of a larger social movement whose impact would reverberate through the halls, corridors and chambers of campuses, governments, and households throughout the United States. Outside of academia, Vine Deloria published *"Custer Died for Your Sins"* in 1969, devoting an entire chapter to the criticism of anthropology and anthropologists. Deloria denounced anthropology for its focus on pure research

that preyed on Indian people rather than the problems they faced. For him, anthropology's relevance was dependent on its ability to positively impact the lives and challenges of people; it needed to be more than a set of field tested and proven, *a priori* hypotheticals or theories. He was arguing against an anthropology that collected information for the sake of science, and advocating for a value shift toward an applied anthropology grounded in human concerns and problems. This new anthropology would be for the people, with the people, and by the people, divesting problem definition and control from the anthropologist to local stakeholders.

While Hymes lobbied for a more "public anthropology" (Nadar, 1999) based on content reform, Deloria urged anthropologists (Biolsi and Zimmerman, 1997), and other social scientists, to reconsider their roles and activities in communities. These criticisms pushed many social scientists to explore how research could become more relevant to local communities and less extractive, how pure research could become applied research, and how native anthropologists could be trained to conduct and define their own community-based research in collaboration with social scientists?

It has been over 30 years since Hymes and Deloria launched their diatribes on behalf of reinvention, relevance and utility within anthropology; yet the questions they raised continue to be catalysts for discussion in departments, professional newsletters and peer reviewed journals. In some departments issues of application are still contentious topics when discussing dissertation design and foci. At the same time, there are numerous departments that offer applied PhDs or allow their students to develop applied dissertations.

This struggle for public relevance and social utility is equally echoed in professional newsletters where one finds whole volumes dedicated to the issue of anthropological relevance in the contemporary world (e.g., *Anthropology News*, 1998 to 2000). The theory versus practice, and applied versus pure research dichotomy continues to be a topic addressed in peer reviewed journals and other professional publications (e.g., Hill and Baba, 2000). Anthropologists interested in the public sphere and focused on relevance are even further divided on application and anthropology, as the recent rise of and debates around Public Anthropology (PA) or Public Interest Anthropology (PIA) versus Applied Anthropology attests.

Value-explicit approaches in applied anthropology, begun by the work of Sol Tax (1958) and Allan Holmberg (1960), and carried on by a new generation of applied anthropologists who refined the Tax/Holmberg models into *Advocacy/Action Anthropology* (among other value explicit research paradigms), have fueled the ongoing conflict between academic purists and applied researchers. This conflict has helped maintain the boundaries and reinforced perceived differences between applied work and non-applied research that had been developing prior to WWII, and intensified after the war. The crux of this contrast, from an academic purists point of view, is that a value-explicit anthropology pursues political interests rather than truth, ignoring theory; and moreover, that this genre of applied anthropology is incapable of testing hypotheses without tainting research findings due to biases. Responses to these assertions during the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Partridge, 1985; Ortner, 1984; Gow, 1993; Schensul, 1985; Singer, 1994; Fisk and Chambers, 1996; Warry, 1992,

and Burns, 1993) have served to galvanize applied anthropologists around a conceptualization of theory in applied anthropology and a general theory of applied anthropology grounded in praxis philosophy.

Theory "in" and Theory "of" Applied Anthropology

Theory "in" Applied Anthropology

Applied anthropology has been defined as anthropological knowledge put to use (van Willigen 1986; Burns, 1993). Such a conceptualization asserts that applied anthropology draws on the knowledge and theoretical constructs developed by general anthropology. In saying this, however, one must concede that some theories in general anthropology have no clear relationship to problem solving, as Angrosino (1996) asserts regarding the structuralism of Levis Strauss. Despite this fact, much of the *theory in* applied anthropology is drawn from the *theory in* general anthropology.

Although applied anthropology's value explicit approach has caused a schism between it and general anthropology, applied anthropologists still remain solidly connected to anthropological knowledge and approaches. Baba (1994) states that, in the social sciences especially, there is little difference between theoretical and applied researchers because they are trained in "the same basic set of theoretical constructs and methodological principles". The dichotomy between "pure or basic research" and "practical research" fades as one realizes that the form and content of these two approaches are not contradistinctive, but rather complementary. Furthermore, the assertion that values in applied anthropology bias scientific findings ignores the difference between values and biases. Values guide which topics and contexts are explored, whereas biases

affect one's judgements as to what has been experienced or observed (Schensul 1985). The two are very different and should not be confused--an applied anthropologist can do good science and still work for the advancement of "valued" human concerns. This is a central tenet of a praxis-guided applied anthropology, which will be discussed in the forthcoming section.

However, the dichotomy between pure and applied research persists. Applied work is generally defined by the problem rather than the interests of the discipline in current theoretical fads. Although applied anthropologists may draw on these theories, among others, the nature of problem definition at the outset of an applied research design makes the explicit presence of theory hard to discern. This fact and the paucity of applied research reports within anthropological journals (with the notable exception of *Human Organization*) give anthropological purists the impression that applied anthropology is neither drawing on theory nor evaluating the efficacy of anthropological knowledge. In reality, many applied research results are not published because of time constraints or contractual agreements with sponsors. Additionally, when these reports are published, they often appear in non-anthropology journals. The inter-disciplinary approach of applied anthropology, wherein theories from outside the discipline are tested and anthropological theories shared across discipline boundaries through publication in non-anthropology related professional journals, "turns away scholars who like single-field consistency" (Bennett, 1996), and obfuscates the anthropological foundations of applied work.

Purists might argue that applied anthropology does little to expand, or only minimally expands anthropological theory because of its multi-disciplinary and

free ranging theoretical interests. An argument of this nature is concerned only with the advancement and edification of one discipline, namely anthropology. Applied anthropologists should not be reproached for contributing to science in general, because, if anthropology truly considers itself a *science of humankind* then the primary criteria for success should be contributions to this effort, rather than a strictly defined anthropological slice of science. Anthropology needs to put less focus on where applied anthropologists develop their theories, where they publish their theories, which discipline they borrow theories from and who appropriates anthropological theory as a result of multi-disciplinary research with anthropologists. This type of academic boundary maintenance is in direct contradiction to anthropology's goal of contributing to humankind's understanding of itself. Anthropologists need to embrace porous discipline boundaries and focus on the real issue—doing good science for the advancement of knowledge, truth, and humanitarianism, which have always been at the foundation of anthropological inquiry. There is theory in applied anthropology, and although it is multidisciplinary in nature, at its core it is anthropological. A praxis grounded theory of applied anthropology reconciles perceived differences between pure and applied research, and clearly relates theoretical issues to practical concerns in grassroots directed social change.

Theory "of" Applied Anthropology

Aristotelian philosophy defined two forms of human action comprising praxis: poesis and phronesis. Poesis was defined as basic action, everyday activity, or action for the sake of itself; while phronesis was described as "action adhering to certain ideal standards of good (ethical) or effective (political)

behavior" (Warry, 1992: 157). This philosophical foundation was drawn on by Marx, and other Hegelian radicals, who renovated and refocused praxis to mean a specific kind of proper or correct activity. Marx's praxis was defined by action or human agency directed toward the liberation of individuals (workers) from alienation and the exploitative processes of capitalism. Similar to *phronesis* in Greek philosophy, this praxis was driven by moral and ethical action, however, unlike *phronesis*, there was a singular goal, social change in an *a priori* defined direction.

Although others (e.g., Gyorgy Lukacs, Antonio Gramsci and Karl Korsch in the 1920's) expanded upon and synthesized Marx's notions of praxis, practice theories did not emerge as an articulated theoretical paradigm in mainline social sciences until the 1970s and 1980s (Knauf, 1996; Outhwaite & Bottomore, 1998). Whereas structural theorists of the time de-emphasized the role of human agency relative to the constructive powers of superstructure, infrastructure and social structure, practice theorists resurrected Aristotelian and Marxist concepts of human action or praxis and stressed the centrality of human agency in reality construction and maintenance (Knauf, 1996).

Pierre Bourdieu was a significant leader in the resurrection of praxis and his work is synonymous with contemporary practice theories. Indeed, Bourdieu, more than any other scholar, has defined and popularized practice theory within mainline social sciences.

Bourdieu drew on many influences in developing his brand of practice theory, including, Marx, Althusser, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre (Knauf, 1996). For Bourdieu practice theory is primarily focused on the critical deconstruction and

exposition of the inequitable results of social and cultural structures in both the lived and symbolic contexts of real social action (Knaaft, 1996). Bourdieu's model for practice theory blends subjective experiences and objective structures in a bi-directional synergy formulating a holistic theory for action and social construction. This model is critical of cultural and social hegemony while explicating the real and potential roles people play in the tension between reproducing this system and transforming reality.

Bourdieu's work has been criticized for being weak in exploring ethnic and subjective variation, and the ethnographic or social circumstances for a specific place and time (hallmarks of anthropological study). Despite these criticisms, his book , "Outline of a Theory of Practice" (1977), and approach to practice theory, have been especially influential on the development of praxis theories within anthropology (Knaaft, 1996).

A praxis theory of applied anthropology is not inconsistent with other paradigmatic streams that have characterized anthropological practice since WWII. Indeed, praxis theory has much in common with Tax's Action Anthropology and Schensul's Advocacy Anthropology (van Willigen, 1986 describes these approaches), and readers familiar with this work will no doubt note the similarities. However, different from these approaches is the dual nature of praxis theory as both a model for explaining reality and a framework for actively changing reality in collaboration with actors (the former approaches focus more on the latter).

A theory of praxis is very similar to the conception of reality construction proffered by Berger and Luckman (1966) (mentioned earlier in this chapter), who

asserted, "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product." Generally, anthropologists have focused on "Society as an objective reality" or "Man as a social product", approaching culture and social organization as objective facts removed from human action. Ortner (1984) suggests that the role of human action has been neglected by anthropological inquiry, and it is this that a theory of praxis redresses within the anthropological literature. More importantly, a theory of praxis is also a political theory, which takes it a step beyond the notions of social construction articulated by Berger and Luckman (1966).

The premises of praxis theory regarding reality construction and constraint can be highlighted by the following assertions (drawn from Ortner 1984, Partridge 1985, Schensul 1985, Bourdieu 1977, and Werry 1992): 1) bi-directional interactions between actors and the system (which encompasses institutional, material and symbolic forms) are characterized by asymmetry and hegemony; 2) hegemony, and the way in which it controls or constrains actors is the dominate factor, as such, praxis theory recognizes that although humans shape their own reality through action, inequalities and cultural domination serve to differentially empower people, groups, and populations in this process; 3) the power of hegemony in this process, though not completely determinative is fundamentally holistic, in that it extends to not only ideas and beliefs but the whole lived experience; and 4) hegemony is a culture, but more specifically, hegemony is the culture of a particular class or group who define and dominate the construction of values and an objectified reality.

In summary, actors work to shape their reality. This action is both influenced by hegemonic forces that, though powerful, are not totalizing. The incompleteness of hegemony leaves room for subjective interpretations by individual actors and those coalesced across groups through inter-subjective sedimentation, resulting in objectifications of reality that are both constrained by macro forces and shaped by subjective human action. This last piece of reality construction (i.e., individuals shaping their world) is the point at which applied anthropology enters praxis theory.

As has been mentioned, a praxis theory is not only an approach that facilitates an understanding of reality construction, it additionally provides a framework for the application of anthropology to pragmatic problems. Clearly, praxis theory as a dynamic actor based model of human and system interaction can be utilized by both applied and non-applied anthropologists (Schensul 1985). However, the two become differentiated when it comes to the role of an anthropologist within the framework of reality construction. Non-applied ethnographers seek to explain and understand this system, whereas applied anthropologists strive to take part in actively changing it through collaboration with individual actors and groups. This is what makes a praxis theory of applied anthropology political, it is driven by value explicit strategic change, an "emancipatory praxis" (Warry 1992) striving to circumvent hegemony and work with local actors in the determination of their own reality. This approach embodies Marx's assertion that, "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it" (Warry, 1992).

A praxis theory of applied anthropology thus places the anthropologist at the point of action and interaction between actors and their reality. The applied anthropologist becomes a part of this process through emancipatory praxis, and *theory in applied anthropology* becomes grounded in real human action through this involvement. The importance of this process, whereby theory in applied anthropology is grounded in practice, needs further discussion, as it is central to how a praxis theory ties applied anthropology back to general anthropology or the theoretical domain of other disciplines.

Theory is not a secondary component of anthropological praxis, instead it is essential in the process of action toward social change, because "action is based on knowledge and informed by theory" (Warry 1992). Additionally, action feeds back into knowledge and theory, such that there is a bi-directional relationship between the two. Thus, theories are tested and grounded in the validity of human action, and rise again to inform human action in a dialectical process of thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. The dialectical nature of theoretical testing in praxis anthropology has been discussed by Schensul (1985), who outlined the following formula for this process: $T_n - I_n - O_n$ (where T=theory, I=intervention and O=data - with the sequence returning again to T following each O). Starting with a theory and available data, an intervention is established at the level of practice/action, the outcome of this intervention is evaluated through the collection of new data which then informs the development of a subsequent theory, additional interventions and so on ad infinitum. Theory must be constantly grounded in this process of action, because data is delimited

temporally and spatially, and the reality that actors interact with and work to shape is not a static objectification.

Many have asserted that applied anthropology is a necessary component in anthropological theory development and evaluation (Goldschmidt 1979, Thompson 1970, Baba 1994, Hill-Burnett 1978, Schensul 1985, Foster 1969, & van Willigen 1986). A praxis grounded applied anthropology supports this assertion. By crossing the boundary of application, anthropologists are subject to dynamic action based contexts where the edge of what we know is challenged by the substance of what actually happens, the contradictions inherent to this environment stimulate fertile intellectual considerations and promote syntheses wherein new or revised theories are developed.

A praxis theory of applied anthropology addresses many of the criticisms that have been leveled against applied anthropology. Namely, a praxis approach overtly and explicitly includes theory in the process of social change, countering claims that there is a lack of theory in applied anthropology. Additionally, by providing a general theory of applied anthropology, it establishes a framework from which anthropologists can interpret the world and pursue application from a coherent body of thought. Its value explicit nature, commitment to emancipatory praxis and focus on the needs, wants and subjective interpretations of contextualized actors provides it with an ethical grounding on the side of people that is neither naïve nor subject to manipulation because of its awareness for the hegemonic processes operating to control social reality.

Who has the map?

Just as the proliferation of anthropology departments turned the discipline inward during the post-war period, the lack of academic jobs since the 1970s is forcing the discipline to look outward and toward contemporary society. Can anthropology be resurrected to meet this challenge? Is it in the process of being transformed because of these challenges? Can anthropology clear the bar raised by Tax, Holmberg, Hymes, Deloria and other advocates for anthropological relevance? If anthropology cannot meet these challenges, it will be on course to become the social science equivalent of Latin in spoken language departments. As James Peacock (Sanday, 1999) has asserted, the new mantra for anthropology will be "public or perish".

Praxis theory will provide the philosophical base necessary for the ongoing development of a more public anthropology. Moreover, praxis theory as advocated and implemented in this dissertation is similar to Marxian conceptualizations of the concept, in that there is an *a priori* goal to the praxis guiding my work. However, unlike Marx, the goal of this praxis is not the liberation of workers from capitalism, but rather, community development, improved QOL and the revival of civil society and civic engagement in American communities.

However, a praxis theory of applied anthropology for civic revival will necessitate a reconfiguration of anthropological research methods and design as more than data extraction mechanisms. The following chapter outlines an agenda for reconfiguring research design and methods such that they facilitate multi-layered impacts, immediate community interventions and equitable

research and development partnerships in an effort to transform social conditions in collaboration with local actors, while exploring issues of concern to both science and society (e.g, Burns, 1993 provides an example of how these issues can be blended in a long-term research and advocacy project). This reconfiguration and civil society focused praxis will provide anthropology with a methodological tool-kit well suited for the issues that Habermas has called "the new politics" (e.g., quality of life, smart growth, sustainability, civic health and public participation) (Warry, 1992), and position the discipline as a major player in community development for civic revival within the United States.

CHAPTER 2 COMMUNITY-BASED RESEARCH AND CIVIC REVIVAL

It takes a group of people who are facing shared problems and possibilities to make lines on municipal maps something more than bus routes and zoning plans. It takes a group of people to transform collections of houses or apartments, neatly built and spaced with yards and hallways between them, into something more than this or that neighborhood, redevelopment project, urban or rural renewal effort. Whether it is a suburb, a small town with city limits blurring into farms and fields, or an inner city housing project, communities aren't built by government agencies, public administrators, elected officials, planners, researchers or developers. Communities are built by the people who make house payments and write rent checks, who watch TV after the dishes are done, who mow their lawns and rake their leaves during changing seasons and infrequent days off. They're your neighbors; they're the people you see when walking down the street, because, communities are built by the people who call them home.

Today, many people live in neighborhoods that are more a series of similarly designed homes than a tightly knit, interwoven and engaged community. People wave while walking to the curb for their paper, cross the hall to hand over wrongly delivered mail, nod on the way to work or when returning home, but few

know their fellow community members beyond the boundaries of this polite discourse, beyond shared schedules and street addresses. However, communities can be much more than this. They can be places where people come together and build their dreams for a better future; working with each other on common problems in an effort to develop shared solutions. Communities can be places where people on one block or floor know families on the next, not for how frequently they mow their lawn or the car they drive, but because they have talked, worked together on things they both feel are important, and shared stories about their lives, children, hopes, and fears. Communities can be places where safety is not a concern because safety is guaranteed, where things get done because people trust each other and know that they are working toward common goals, their goals, for their community.

These communities existed in the past, but they are much rarer today. Many factors have converged in transforming the American community. Taken together these factors have contributed to a decline in civic engagement and overall civic health, despite the social and technological advances of the last 50 years, and recent economic prosperity.

Resource poor, underdeveloped communities have been the hardest hit by this transformation (Naparstack, 1997; Wilson, 1989; Putnam, 2000), in that they are confronting civic decline simultaneous to economic and infrastructure hardships. Often times, solutions to these problems have focused on "brick and mortar" developments, or human capital investments. However, many are now stressing the importance of social capital development in reviving and renewing American communities, especially those hardest hit by the secular, technological,

social and economic changes of the last 50 years (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1993, Wilson, 1989; Napparstack, 1997; Coleman, 1990; De Souza Briggs, 1997; Putnam, 1995; Selman & Parker, 1997).

The importance of this revival cannot be overstated, given the ongoing trend of government devolution, which is once again placing the onus for community change and decision-making on local citizens. Clearly, building community and civic engagement should be national priorities, on equal level with fair and affordable housing, economic development and education. Policy trends at both the federal and local level suggest that governments are recognizing this need, but much more remains to be done.

Community-based researchers can contribute to healthier, more civically engaged communities, by reconfiguring their research design and methods, such that they build civic infrastructures, civic engagement and social capital, while simultaneously exploring issues of social change, public policy and social theory. Although these efforts alone will not revive American communities, they will make important contributions to the larger movement for community renewal, civic health and social capital development in the United States, especially in the most underdeveloped and resource poor areas.

The following chapter explores social capital development and community renewal issues in the United States. Following this discussion, an agenda will be outlined for reconfiguring research design and methods to meet the challenges of civic decline and recent demands for greater citizen participation in community development, public policy and community life.

Social Capital and Civic Infrastructures

Social Capital

Solutions to community decline and opportunities for community renewal have often been sought in "brick and mortar" infrastructures or the development of human capacities. Physical capital improvements can build a better environment, create aesthetically more pleasing structures, provide available, affordable, sturdier and more substantive housing and transform dark streets into well lit walkways, but they don't build community. Similarly, human capital development, in the form of new skills, capacities and workforce readiness are important and essential components to individual development and the health of those households that form a community, but this type of development alone cannot create a community.

The development of physical and human capital are important components in community renewal efforts, however, they are not the most significant or essential for rebuilding the American community. Instead, many argue that the current state of the American community can be traced to the decline of social capital. Therefore, efforts to rebuild the American community should pay especially close attention to the development of social capital; that essential ingredient for the creation of community (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1993; Naparstack, 1997; Coleman, 1990; De Souza Briggs, 1997; Putnam, 1995; Selman & Parker, 1997; Wilson, 1989).

Social capital is our connection with others. It's the organizations we join with our neighbors, the community projects we engage in together, the churches we attend while sitting side by side, the community activities and events that link

us to each other and family members who can be counted upon (Putnam, 2000; Selman & Parker, 1997). Social capital is the handshake across the fence, conversations at the corner store, the carpool and soccer moms sharing stories on the sidelines. Social capital is a social network (Putnam, 2000), a community connected by more than street addresses and asphalt. It's the glue that keeps us together, propels us toward shared goals and amplifies our voices beyond that which we as individuals could articulate alone. Social capital is the measure of what people can do and accomplish together. In its development is the power of collective action, a strength derived from socially connected individuals who are no longer facing life and challenges alone. Social capital development creates stronger, healthier, more fully engaged communities, and will be the fulcrum on which balances community renewal and viability in the 21st century.

However, a central problem in communities today is the deterioration of civic infrastructures that once supported social capital development beyond the boundary of ones family or household. The decline of these infrastructures has left many communities with few opportunities, beyond churches, for community members to work together on projects and interact with their neighbors on issues of collective concern. If community renewal in the United States depends on social capital development, then efforts to rebuild and revive American communities must begin with the construction of civic infrastructures that promote opportunities for civic engagement and an environment suitable for the growth of social capital.

Civic Infrastructures and Civic Engagement

Physical infrastructures are the roads, buildings, sidewalks, sewer and water systems that represent the physical capital of a community; the literal and real material lattice that holds together hard systems and gives our sense of place a distinctive and functional facade. In contrast, civic infrastructures aren't composed of steel or concrete, they're made of community activities, clubs, neighborhood projects, and human associations formed for a purpose; they are the underlying structure that make a community more than the sum of its physical edifices (O'Conner, 2000). These infrastructures connect us through civic activity and engage us in community life. They are the foundation for social capital and community life.

The decline in social capital is mirrored by a decline in civic infrastructures, or opportunities for civic engagement. There are fewer organizations today, then there were 30 years ago, that actively engage community members with each other on issues important to the locality they share. Community organizations are disappearing for lack of interest, and the Optimists Clubs, Elks Lodges and Junior Leagues of America, those historic models for community involvement, have lost their appeal to many Americans. Putnam (2000) and Barkley (1998) assert that we need to create a new generation of civic infrastructures to engage contemporary communities. Existing community activities need to be complemented or replaced by civic engagement opportunities that are more focused on issues that directly affect community members or appeal to their household self interests (rather than just fellowship). Additionally, these engagement opportunities should be flexible in

their terms for participation and built around the busy schedules of contemporary family life. Possibilities for reconstructing, rejuvenating and reinvigorating civic infrastructures along these lines may already be germinating in new efforts to increase citizen participation in public decision-making, community development and government.

Public Participation

Direct citizen participation in the political arena has been debated, advocated and dismissed by numerous political and practical thinkers since the Greek philosophers first discussed the virtues of participatory democracy. Following in the footsteps of Greek proclamations for a participatory polity, Thomas Jefferson advocated for a government founded on citizen consent and direct involvement or participation in not only electing public officials but also in defining the daily administration of government. In contrast, John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham both argued that the most appropriate and practical manner for citizens to be involved in the governing of their concerns was through representative government rather than through direct involvement (Koontz, 1999). This tension between government control and citizen involvement has been an especially important issue in the governance and administration of public affairs in the United States during the last 50 years.

As external resources and involvement in local community affairs escalated in the post WWII era, many students of the American community commented on the transfer of responsibility from local to federal decision-makers (Warren, 1975; Vidich and Bensman, 1958; Stein, 1960; Gallagher, 1961; Martingdale and Hanson, 1969). Despite high levels of voter turnout (Putnam,

2000), the voice of community residents in both federal and local decision-making processes was on decline, replaced by the influence of bureaucratic experts and policy technicians.

The community development movement emerged to counter this trend in the 1950s and 1960s, and advocated strong citizen participation in development planning and implementation. Although this rhetoric has been a consistent feature of the community development field (Truman, 1985; Schriener & Fawcett, 1988; Chrisman, 1999; Cawley, 1984; Christenson & Robinson, 1980; Moen, 1995), many argue that community development practice has increasingly moved away from an emphasis on public participation and civic development in community renewal (Black, 1994). Instead, mainline community development as applied by local, state and federal practitioners has evolved to emphasize economic, physical Black, 1994). In many instances, community development became a reflection of the process it was designed to negate (i.e., declining citizen engagement in public decision-making and development).

However, over the last decade there has been a growing movement within the United States for greater resident participation in and control over decision-making processes *vis a vis* their communities, public policy and federal development programs or services (Rowley, 1999; Naparstack et.al., 1997; De SouzaBriggs, 1998; Cowden, 1995; Sugg, 2000; Thrupp, 1994; Herring, 1998; Barkley, 1998; Bhattacharyya, 2000). The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Empowerment Zone (EZ) and Enterprise Community Program (EC) divests control over redevelopment efforts in under-developed areas to local communities and encourages broad citizen participation. The

Clinton-Gore administration's livable communities program emphasized the importance of citizen engagement and involvement in creating healthier, more livable localities (Clinton-Gore Administration, 2000). HUD's Hope VI program strives to build community while upgrading and enhancing the physical capital of existing public housing developments (Naparstack, 1997). The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) holds an annual community involvement conference and stresses citizen participation, especially in environmental justice and brownfields redevelopment efforts. Statutes and regulations at the national level have encouraged citizen participation in agency decisions (e.g., the Administrative Procedures Act, Government in the Sunshine Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act) (Koontz, 1999). In the State of Florida, citizen participation is a required component of WAGES (Work and Gain Economic Self Sufficiency), the statewide welfare reform initiative (Sugg, 2000).

These programmatic, policy and statutory reforms are examples of the shift taking place in the relationship between government and community members, echoing an early assertion made by the ACIR (1980) that "Citizen participation beyond the electoral process is an essential part of representative democracy in America". This shift in practice is especially important because many have asserted that the success, efficacy and sustainability of public policy, community development and social problem solving depend on public participation (Eden, 1996; Fox, 1993; Arcury et.al., 1999; Randolph, 1999; Beierle, 1999; USDA, 1994; Gerber, 1992; De Souza Briggs, 1998; Putnam, 1993; Napparstack, 1997; Sweetser, 1997; Thompson, 1997; Berardi, 1999). Beyond increasing the sustainability and efficacy of community development and

policy, public participation in the development process can simultaneously add to or build civic infrastructure and social and human capital in a community (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1993; Napparstack, 1997) by creating new opportunities for civic engagement and capacity building.

Is this new movement the salvation for civic life and community in the United States? Numerous practitioners and academics argue on both sides of this debate. Many have raised concerns that recent efforts to increase public participation are a "false populism" (De Souza Briggs, 1998). From this perspective, participation is often a political expedient, greasing the wheels of a community process without seriously considering the input and recommendations of community members (De Souza Briggs, 1998; Klein, 1994). This type of public participation in the development process is like the District of Columbia's representative to congress. S/he has a seat with their name on it, and they can stand up and talk, but they really don't have a role in the decision-making process; others vote while they watch. The outcome is determined by those who say, "we're listening".

Clearly, "false populism" does little to build civic, social and human capital, and does not contribute to the rejuvenation or reconstruction of genuine civic infrastructures (although people are connected through the process, they may choose disengagement rather than future engagement because the process was ingenuous). These processes fail to recognize the assertion made by Arenstein (1969) over 30 years ago that "there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process".

There is great potential for civic revival through this movement toward greater public participation in government, public decision-making, public policy and community development. However, care must be taken so that the public participation is real and contributes to substantive impacts on the social, human and civic development of communities. Most importantly, these efforts must prioritize the construction of civic infrastructures that provide new opportunities for civic engagement, as well as, human and social capital development.

Efforts to rejuvenate civic engagement and community through civic infrastructures constructed during public policy implementations and development projects highlight how other community-based practitioners, programs or projects could also employ public participation towards these goals. Community-based and applied researchers are especially well placed to contribute to these efforts, and have a long history of working on these issues.

Participatory Research

The modernist approach to science clearly delineates the researcher and the researched. The researcher decides who to work with, what questions are important, who should be asked these questions, what findings mean and how they should be used. The researcher is the expert, the observer, and the voice of science that records an objective reality. The researched, the community, or the other, as this role *vis a vis* the researcher has been romantically labeled in anthropology, is an empirical phenomenon, his or her problems and characteristics - data.

However, as I discussed in Chapter 1, social sciences, and especially anthropology, need to be guided by praxis and concerned with more than the

objective or eticist interpretation of reality. Community-based researchers driven by praxis strive to explain and understand reality while collaborating with people to affect social and community change relative to this reality. Despite the historical, and on many levels contemporary, dominance of modernist approaches to community-based research; there have been ongoing criticisms of this paradigm and numerous innovations in research design and methods that provide examples for how one can implement praxis driven approaches to science, research and social problems. These approaches develop social and human capital in communities while engaging community members in civic issues and the collection of information relevant to policy, community development and science.

Early criticisms of the modernist paradigm were leveled by Marx and Engels, who asserted that philosophers should not only study reality but also contribute to its transformation (Hall, 1981; Lobkowicz, 1967; Rahder, 1999). Although this assertion didn't immediately catch hold in the sciences, researchers and scholars from the 1930s to the 1960s began articulating research agendas that were conceptually similar to praxis.

McTaggart (1991) indicates that anthropologist John Collier, while serving as Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the 1930s and 1940s, was the first to suggest an "action research" or praxis driven science when he stated that:

"we have learned that the action-evoked, action-serving, integrative and layman-participating way of research is incomparably more productive of social results than the specialized and isolated way, and also we think we have proved that it makes discoveries more central, more universal, more functional and more true for the nascent social sciences" (Collier, 1945)

However, it is the social-psychologist Kurt Lewin who is most credited with the early popularization of action research and theory (Green, 1995; Rahder, 1999; Perez, 1997). Lewin (1946) stressed the importance of forming collaborations with local people to define problems and work together toward their solutions through a series of steps that included research, planning and action (Perez, 1997). Additionally, the Tavistock Institute of London and the Highlander Center in the United States became leaders in participatory methods, along with anthropologists such as Tax (*The Fox Project*, 1958) and Whyte (*Street Corner Society*, 1943) who both played an early and important role in the development of these methodological innovations. Later, Paolo Freire's (1970) work on empowerment in Chile and Brazil as well as Orlando Fals-Borda's work in Columbia (Fals-Borda, 1985) became significant influences on furthering the conceptual and methodological develop of popular education, participatory research and participatory development. This movement toward a participatory research paradigm argued that those traditionally considered objects of research could create "serious and trustworthy knowledge" and should be included in both its development and related social change efforts (Fals-Borda, 1985). These innovations in conceptualizing and doing research inspired others to question the purposes and outcomes of research, and influenced the development of new research approaches in the 1970s.

In the early 1970s Farming Systems Research (FSR) was developed to increase the likelihood that technologies would be accepted by communities and employed in agricultural practice. This approach eventually evolved from "using farmers' fields or labor to conduct research designed by scientists, to

incorporating farmers as evaluators of technology, to fostering farmers in the design of their own experiments" (Perez, 1997).

FSR subsequently influenced the rise of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) in the late 1970s. This approach was developed as an alternative to more long-term, survey dominated and labor intensive rural/agricultural research methods (Perez, 1997). RRA also countered the tendency of "development tourism" (Chambers, 1983; Sweetser, 1997), where practitioners only conducted research in areas that were easily accessible, close to the road and with community members who were less challenging to work with (i.e., elites and men). RRA engaged community members through interactive and visual methods that were culturally appropriate, grounded and grassroots, turning the development research paradigm on its head. Although this approach was driven by praxis and included local residents in the research process, many have asserted that it was not necessarily participatory (Perez, 1997; Sweetser, 1997; Lightfoot et.al., 1999).

By the 1980s, researchers and practitioners were developing a new approach, Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), that addressed the weaknesses of RRA, and made community participation in the research and development process a real and integral component. Simultaneous to the development of PRA, other researchers were engaging in what they called Participatory Action Research and/or Participatory Research, that grew out of the same traditions as PRA but were less focused on issues of international development (Perez, 1997). These approaches are now employed by numerous researchers or organizations (e.g. Reardon, 1994; The Policy Research and Action Group - Chicago, IL;

Participatory Research Network - Cornell University; Neighborhood Planning for Community Redevelopment - University of Minnesota; The Institute for Development Studies - Sussex, UK; The Community Partnership Center - University of Tennessee) and have multiplied into a number of similar methods for engaging community members in research, civic affairs and action for social change (e.g., participatory research, participatory rural appraisal, participatory action research, collaborative research, action research, participatory inquiry, participatory development, and participatory learning and action, to name but a few) (Ansley and Gaventa, 1997). Clearly, research that includes public participation, social, human and civic development, social change emphases and action components are increasingly becoming a part of mainstream science and gaining in popularity among both researchers (Ansley and Gaventa, 1997; Green, 1995) and other community development practitioners.

Contemporary participatory research is generally characterized by three primary elements: 1) research, 2) education and 3) action (Green, 1995; Rahder, 1999; Ansley and Gaventa, 1997). Participatory research is a democratizing approach (Sweetser, 1997) because it legitimizes the concerns and voices of community members in decision-making processes and empowers people for participation in civic affairs. Within this framework, the research focus is defined by both researchers and community members. Although research foci can include *a priori* defined elements that the researcher would like to explore, the goal of the research process should be to identify and address community needs and problems as prioritized by community members (Rahder, 1999). Important to this effort is capacity building that transfers skills and knowledge to community

members so that they can actively take part in the research process (Rahder, 1999; Green, 1995). Finally, research and capacity building should culminate in the implementation of a plan for action and community change relative to community concerns and research findings (Rahder, 1999; Green, 1995).

Although participatory research is gaining in popularity, many critics have asserted that it is often misunderstood, improperly or incompletely implemented and underutilized in the social sciences (Lightfoot et.al., 1999; Thompson, 1997; Escobar, 1995; Perez, 1997). These critics assert that participatory research often pays lip-service to participation, similar to the false populism described in the community development field (Thompson, 1997; Escobar, 1995). Additionally, Lightfoot et.al. (1999) argue that participatory research does not pay enough attention to capacity building or learning processes, and is still primarily a data extraction exercise most benefiting the researcher. Despite these criticisms participatory research clearly provides a framework for implementing a praxis driven social science that both explores and shapes reality.

Can this approach contribute to civic renewal and community rejuvenation in the United States? Given the history of participatory research and its focus on public participation, social action, community problem solving and human capital development, there is great potential for it to impact civic and community renewal. In the remainder of this chapter I will outline an agenda for reconfiguring social science research design and methods that draws on the lessons learned from participatory research and repositions community-based research as an important contributor to civic renewal in the United States.

Community-based Research and Civic Renewal

In order for community-based research to play a role in community renewal it must create opportunities for civic engagement and public participation through civic infrastructures, build bridging social capital that connects community members through shared action, and transfer civic skills and capacities to local residents. These efforts should also include community youth development components and inter-generational linkages. The process should be iterative over both the short and long-term, driven by broad and genuine public participation, include multiple opportunities for community members to participate, and address issues of personal and public interest within the community.

Public Participation

Public participation throughout the research process is fundamental to reconfiguring community-based research design and methods for community renewal and civic revival. Researchers and collaborating agencies must be willing to give up control over the process and include community members in defining the research questions and goals, the level of community engagement, methods for data collection, plans for project implementation, and agendas for community change (Hampton, 1999; Rahder, 1999).

The importance of real participation, versus "false populism", cannot be overstated. False participation relies on the popular rhetoric of public participation to sell a project and engage community members in a process that often allows them to voice their positions but rarely engages them beyond this public airing of concerns (concerns that often go unheard in the decision-making

process). This type of public participation only makes people more skeptical of government, researchers and others trying to engage them in community renewal efforts. Civic engagement of this form is often counterproductive to civic renewal efforts and causes community members to disengage from the process because what they have to say "really doesn't matter", their concerns and self interests are not addressed.

The effects of this kind of participation on subsequent civic engagement efforts within a community are well illustrated in underdeveloped, resource poor communities, who have been laboratories for such approaches. Decision-makers or researchers come into these communities advocating community input but are rarely able to translate public participation into deliverable community impacts. Wave upon wave of these encounters jade a community, and one would be hard pressed to find a low-resource community today where people are not skeptical of those professing public participation and community change. Although this is not the only reason why people are often reluctant to become civically engaged (e.g., Wilson, 1989 provides a detailed description of the forces influencing civic decline in resource poor communities), it is a very significant and profound influence in these communities.

In contrast to "false populism", real public participation can make significant impacts on civic and community renewal. Participation that engages community members in a process that they help define and control, stimulates a sense of civic responsibility and commitment among community members. Public participation can thus build public interest in civic affairs because it allows people to imbed their self-interests in the process and define a set of problems

that address both personal and community issues. The realization that their participation can make a difference in their own lives makes them more interested in taking part in those public or community efforts that previously had no relationship to their self interests, personal goals and household viability. This also links personal interests with community interests in that it highlights how one's self-interests are shared by neighbors. Taken together, these realizations fuel future community involvement and civic engagement because community members understand the power of these shared concerns and the importance of their self-interests within the community development process.

Real participation also changes public perspectives on government, universities, research and community development. The image of these institutions and processes are reconceptualized as things in which the community has a stake and interest. Communities become partners in their own transformation, because community members know that their voices will be heard and that their contributions are essential for the process to succeed. However, before the impacts of participation can be realized through community-based research, implementation entities that provide opportunities for engagement must be identified.

Research Methods as Community Projects

Although community-based research methods can be participatory and engage community members in a process having impacts on their life and community, the significance of this may be lost when decontextualized within the research process. This has the overall effect of reducing those impacts derived from participation such as increased civic engagement, civic responsibility and

social capital. Additionally, these research methods are often singularly conceptualized as tools or processes for engaging a community rather than community activities or projects with broader community goals and purposes.

However, by reconceptualizing participatory research methods as community projects community-based researchers can create meaningful civic engagement opportunities and contribute to the construction of civic infrastructures while simultaneously collecting information with community members. Community projects thus become the implementation entities for the research process, but also have an identity outside the research process and could be ongoing after the researcher has left the community.

For example, rather than merely collecting a series of oral history interviews with community members develop a community oral history project or program in collaboration with community members. Give this project or program a name and engage community members in its development, implementation and direction. Document oral histories with the community members through this project and use some of the interviews for your own research purposes. This process will build more than an oral history archive for a community; it will create an added link in a community's civic infrastructure. This link could continue to engage community members in civic life beyond the duration of a research contract or project.

Transforming a handful of methods into an equal number of linked community projects, work groups or teams of collaborators can create a broad and diverse participation structure for community members. This is important because not everyone wants to participate at the same level or has interests in

the same issues. By creating a diverse civic infrastructure including varying levels of participation and numerous civic engagement opportunities, overall participation will be increased and community members will be able to choose the level and form of their civic engagement.

It should be apparent how a series of community project or program conceptualized methods could dramatically impact a community's civic infrastructure, especially in underdeveloped and historically resource poor communities. Among communities experiencing civic decline, resource poor communities show the greatest deficits in civic life and have the weakest civic infrastructures. Often the only civic engagement opportunities in these communities are local churches. Community-based researchers exploring issues of community and social concern can consequently make multi-leveled impacts within communities having small civic infrastructures and numerous social problems.

Beyond adding to or creating civic infrastructures and exploring issues of concern to community members, these projects can also make immediate impacts on social problems within the community. For example, let's imagine that the oral history project above is located in a community that needs after-school programming for at-risk youth. The oral history project could then be designed to engage both youth and adults in oral history documentation, providing youth with an after-school activity and linking them with adult mentors and role models.

However, it is important to remember that community projects will have varied life cycles. Some projects will have a long life, while others will have a short life. Often this will depend on the issue or need the project is addressing;

when the problem goes away, the project may also lose its relevance.

Community-based researchers should view the community projects they develop as iterative community links in a civic infrastructure. These links may not be ongoing in an uninterrupted sense, but rather, episodically emerge when the need or interest is present. The key is for community-based researchers to develop a process that builds community capacities (which will be addressed later in this chapter), social capital and structures for endogamous development, including a shared memory or blueprint for implementing specific community projects. Community-based research can thus be the catalyst for putting an iterative process of endogamous community and civic development in motion.

Re-conceptualizing participatory methods as community based projects empowers community-based research with a relevant tool-kit for contemporary community renewal. Through this research process civic opportunities are created, participatory research is conducted and local problems are addressed. It should be clear that these are dynamic methods with great potential for making multi-leveled impacts on civic infrastructure, civic engagement and social capital in struggling communities.

Bridging Social Capital

The importance of civic infrastructures has been stressed throughout this chapter. They are crucial to the growth of civic engagement and social capital in American communities. However, to maximize the impact of civic infrastructures on community life it is crucial to consider issues of bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam (2000) defines bridging social capital as those relationships or associations across diverse groups or social cleavages. It also refers to linkages between communities and decision-makers. Bridging social capital are those horizontal linkages across a community that create strong bonds despite diversity and those vertical linkages that provide the community access to power and decision-making contexts. De Souza Briggs (1998) asserts that bridging social capital helps communities get ahead.

Paying attention to bridging social capital in civic infrastructure construction means, as was mentioned above, developing a broad set of civic engagement opportunities that can attract a diverse group of community members or stakeholders. There should also be opportunities within this structure to include stakeholders who represent the agencies, governments or groups that affect decision-making relative to those issues important to the community.

From the beginning of a research project, community-based researchers should strive to achieve diverse stakeholder participation and work to forge linkages and trust between community members through the civic infrastructure and implementation entities developed for the project. These linkages will create intra and inter-community connections that will contribute to the overall health of the community. This process will also encourage civic engagement by bridging group differences and helping community members realize the strength of their shared goals.

Community Youth Development

Community youth development is a holistic framework for youth development that engages youth in civic issues and community life. It provides after-school activities for youth, enlists them in community change efforts and volunteer activities, builds capacities and skills for the future and forges inter-generational linkages between adults, elders and youth. It has become a widely implemented and articulated approach to building better communities.

Community-based researchers interested in contributing to long-term civic and community renewal should include a community youth development component within their research projects. Putnam (2000) asserts that youth have long been considered a proper starting point for promoting civic engagement. Although classroom instruction is an important component in educating youth for civic engagement, the most salient factor is hands-on service activity (Putnam, 2000). Moreover, civic engagement during youth is a very strong predictor for civic engagement in adulthood (Putnam, 2000).

There are other exciting possibilities for community renewal through youth / elder linkages. The WWII cohort has continued to be the most civically engaged generation over the last 50 years, and the recent rise of individual volunteerism in America, an apparent counter trend to civic decline, is due to the large number of WWII era community members entering retirement and pursuing volunteer activities. Despite changes in the American community, this generation continues to be actively engaged in civic affairs and focused on community life, whereas others have retreated from civic life.

Community-based researchers should develop methods and community projects that link youth with the civic-minded WWII generation. These personal linkages with civically active community members, along with hands-on service through youth engagement in community projects, will engender a civic ethic in youth and contribute to healthier, more civically engaged communities in the future.

Additionally, youth are often seen as part of the problem in a community rather than part of the solution. However, by linking youth with adults and creating a dialogue between these groups through civic engagement and shared problem-solving, mutual understandings and bridging social capital can be developed that contribute to a stronger community. Community youth development is an important part of civic renewal in America, and Community-based researchers interested in helping to revive civic life must integrate this approach into their larger participatory research efforts.

Capacity Building

Throughout this chapter I have stressed the development of civic structures and social capital. However, human capital development is an equally important, complimentary and essential component of community renewal that should be emphasized in community-based research projects.

By stressing public participation through community projects that act as implementation entities for research methods, community based researchers create contexts for capacity building that can operate on numerous human development levels. Capacity building opportunities should strike a balance between process and product (read data) in community based research efforts

and create human capital. These individual and community capacities can be developed in three primary areas through participatory research processes: 1) Civic, 2) Research and 3) Workforce.

Civic capacities are built through resident involvement in the community projects established as implementation entities for the research process. Community members run meetings, learn to work together and develop other organizational capacities that can contribute to strong community organizations. Additionally, by engaging in civic affairs through these projects, community members gain an understanding for and knowledge of community issues, decision-making processes, problem-solving techniques, politics, policies and programs. Civic capacities facilitate an increased interest in and capacity for civic engagement that will contribute to long-term civic and community renewal beyond the life of a single research project.

Like civic capacities, research skills and abilities are built through community member participation in implementing and conducting research components embedded in community projects. In order for community members to successfully accomplish these tasks and to ensure valid and reliable data, community based researchers must make training in research methods a fundamental part of their community level practice. Unlike civic capacities, which are built through exposure and participation in the process, research capacities must be built through a combination of training and hands-on experience. Up front training seminars and ongoing attention to capacity building needs throughout the process will enable fuller public participation in research components and allow community members to take greater control over a

process they understand. Moreover, this type of capacity building empowers community members with research skills and knowledge that can be drawn on during their continued involvement in civic affairs and issue-focused investigations.

The development of workforce capacities is an especially important component of civic renewal focused research in underdeveloped communities. General workforce assets such as leadership, organization skills and confidence can be built throughout the participatory research process. However, other workforce development opportunities should not be overlooked. For example, issues of the new economy can be addressed by integrating digital technologies into community projects and research activities. Oral history interviews can be documented using digital video cameras, community members can work to create web pages, and digital still cameras can be used to document community issues and problems. Familiarity with digital technologies, keyboard literacy and basic understandings of computer applications are important workforce skills to build in technology-poor communities, especially given global concerns over the digital divide in low resource countries and communities.

When community members have the capacity to maintain the ongoing development and leadership of community projects, the sustainability of these projects beyond the research process is enhanced. It is often asserted that researchers should work themselves out of a job through community capacity building during the participatory research and development process. However, a more appropriate description might be that when capacity building is a focus in community based research, then community members eventually work the

researcher out of a job (at least in their role as catalyst and director of community projects).

The agenda I have outlined provides details for developing a community-based research process that engages community members in civic life, builds civic infrastructures, social capital and community and individual capacities. This discussion has centered on the importance of process, or how we do community based research, in contributing to community and civic revival. Although research outcomes are important, I have argued that process outcomes are more significant in the development of civic, social and human capital.

The remainder of my dissertation will focus on the Central Dakota Quality of Life and Local History Project. This project was guided by praxis theory and the agenda for community-based research described above.

CHAPTER 3 CENTRAL DAKOTA QUALITY OF LIFE PROJECT

The Central Dakota Quality of Life Project was a QOL and local history study integrated with two community based training and documentation programs in Emmons County, ND and on Standing Rock Reservation, ND / SD. This project stressed participatory research, program and civic infrastructure development, the transfer of skills and knowledge to local residents, community youth development and civic engagement.

Local agencies and residents helped define the research questions for this project. While students from Sitting Bull College, the University of North Dakota, local youth and myself worked together to talk with, interview, and document the perspectives of community members.

Area college students and community members were included in this project through *The Sitting Bull College Participatory Research Seminar* and *The Emmons County Community Issues Seminar*, both hands-on training programs in qualitative research methods. Students and community members learned the basics of participatory research by helping to design and carry out this study and by serving as coordinators or class instructors for *View our Voices*.

View our Voices was a community based photography and video production program targeting youth. This project was simultaneously implemented in Emmons County and on Standing Rock Reservation. It

transferred knowledge to youth in photography and video production while encouraging them to document oral histories and those issues important to themselves and their communities.

These community projects were implementation entities for *The Central Dakota Quality of Life Study*. This study is a summary and comparison of findings generated by QOL projects in each target community and suggested plans for action based on these findings (Chapters 4 through 6 highlight findings and recommendations drawn from this study). Although this evaluation explores research questions mentioned in the first chapter, the central focus of my work was to collaboratively develop a locally defined and practical QOL and oral history project that benefited participating communities and their residents, both through research and program development.

Partnerships

During the first phase of the project, partnership agreements with local agencies, decision-makers and other stakeholders were formed in order to establish solid community and tribal sponsorship for this project. These discussions led to productive relationships with both tribal and local governments and other service providers. The project was formerly endorsed by the Standing Rock Tribal Council and the Emmons County Commission as official local government projects. On the reservation the project was coordinated through the local school system and the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO). In Emmons County the project was coordinated through the Emmons County Historical Society and the Emmons County 4H program. After the development

of these relationships, efforts focused on defining local problems for the study and organizing community level projects.

Study Development

Local stakeholders were consulted during the fall of 1998 to define the research questions and problems that they would like to see addressed during the study. In addition to this, focus groups were conducted with local residents to further enhance the development of research questions and provide a vehicle for grassroots input to this process. Since one goal of this study was to generate useful planning resources and information for both agencies and the communities they serve, every effort was made to accommodate the perspectives of local residents and other participating stakeholders.

Additional survey queries for this study were developed to answer specific research questions and to test hypotheses for this dissertation. These questions were drawn from QOL questionnaires, but were adapted for local contexts when questions did not seem culturally appropriate or significant. This process provided the study with a body of locally defined QOL research questions and a sub-set of general questions for comparison with other communities and previous research.

Beyond the investigation of QOL issues, this study also worked to document and preserve local oral histories. This had two purposes: 1) to aid the Standing Rock Tribal Historic Preservation Office and Emmons County Historical Society by documenting cultural traditions, oral histories and personal experiences of elders and other community members, and 2) to provide the QOL study with a historical context and background.

Program Development

Three community based programs were developed as implementation entities for this project: 1) *The Sitting Bull College Participatory Research Seminar*, 2) *The Emmons County Community Issues Seminar* and 3) *View our Voices*.

The Sitting Bull College Participatory Research Seminar & The Emmons County Community Issues Seminar

An important component of *The Central Dakota Quality of Life Project* were relationships with Sitting Bull College and the University of North Dakota. I developed a participatory research seminar in the fall of 1998 to be offered through both Sitting Bull College and the University of North Dakota in the spring term of 1999. Students and community members enrolled in these seminars and were trained in participatory research methods and oral history documentation, and received hands-on experience by working as program coordinators and research assistants. The goals of these seminars were to:

- Transfer knowledge to students and community members in participatory research methods;
- Provide students and community members with the skills and ability to undertake their own community based research projects;
- Interest students and community members in preserving local history and safeguarding their heritage;
- Encourage students and community members to solve real world problems within their communities; and
- Give local communities added power to monitor outside research, or conduct and control their own research endeavors.

Through *The Central Dakota Quality of Life Project*, students and community members had many opportunities to gain hands-on experience in program development, program coordination and project focused or individually

defined research. Students and community members conducted interviews with local residents for *The Central Dakota Quality of Life Study* and helped coordinate *View our Voices*. However, both students and community members were much more than assistants to these programs; they helped coordinate and operate each project, and gained valuable experience in developing, managing and coordinating community-based programs and research studies.

View our Voices

The Central Dakota Quality of Life Project actively involved youth through *View our Voices*, a community-based photography and video production program. This program was developed and planned in the fall of 1998, and offered to area youth in Emmons County and on Standing Rock Reservation beginning in January of 1999. The goals of this program were to:

- Provide productive after-school, weekend and summer activities for youth;
- Introduce photography and video production to area youth and teach technical skills in these areas through hands-on experience;
- Enhance youth self confidence through artistic and technical accomplishments;
- Stimulate a positive sense of individual and group identity among youth;
- Interest area youth in preserving oral histories, including knowledge about local places, people and kin, as well as personal memories;
- Provide youth with a vehicle for expressing their concerns and notions of what needs to be done in their community; and
- Interest youth in actively coming together to promote their concerns for a heightened community QOL.

Central Dakota Quality of Life Study

The community projects mentioned above were the implementation entities for the *Central Dakota Quality of Life Study*. This study was implemented

over a six-month period from March of 1999 to August of 1999 in Emmons County and on Standing Rock Reservation.

Stratified Multi-stage Cluster Sample

The population for this study was selected through two stratified multi-stage cluster samples. Cluster samples are preferred over simple random samples in cases where adequate sampling frames are unavailable (Babbie, 1990). Two common sampling frames, phone directories and drivers license roles, were both problematic for Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County. These frames were problematic because: 1) many people on the reservation do not have phones; 2) many people on the reservation do not have licenses; 3) many people in the northern, southern and eastern extremes of Emmons County are listed in phone directories for municipalities outside of the county, making the construction of a sampling frame from this list difficult and time consuming; and 4) many married women are not listed in phone directories and older women may not have drivers licenses, making these sampling frames incomplete for a representative selection of women. Furthermore, other less comprehensive sampling frames were rejected because of the difficulty in combining these lists into a non-redundant aggregate. As such, the sampling of clusters, and subsequently, households / individuals from within these clusters, was considered the most comprehensive and efficient method by which a representative sample across all strata could be drawn to test the stated hypotheses of this study.

One multi-stage cluster sample of 40 residents was drawn from Standing Rock Reservation, while the other was drawn from Emmons County. These two

samples yielded a total study population of 80 residents, age 18 or older, stratified by ethnicity (40 Native Americans and 40 European Americans), gender (40 females and 40 males) and age (40 above age 45 and 40 below age 45). Stratification by ethnicity, gender and age was desired because it allowed for a 1:1 comparison across groups in hypothesis testing. This sample generalizes to adult Native American residents of Standing Rock Reservation and all adult county residents in Emmons County.

The sample size for this study was chosen for two reasons: 1) all primary comparisons discussed in the study hypotheses can be made between 30 or more respondents from each group, maximizing the number and types of statistical operations available for analysis (Bouma & Atkinson, 1995), and 2) given financial and time constraints a sample of 80 respondents was a realistic and attainable research design.

Native Americans	40	European Americans	40
Female	20	Female	20
< 45	10	< 45	10
> 45	10	> 45	10
Male	20	Male	20
< 45	10	< 45	10
> 45	10	> 45	10

Table 3. Stratified Multi-Stage Cluster Sample

Rural and town clusters were identified on Standing Rock Reservation and in Emmons County. County townships were used as rural clusters in both multi-

stage samples. In Emmons County the population is predominately European American while on Standing Rock Reservation the population is more diverse. This necessitated selective cluster sampling on the reservation to ensure that those households selected were in fact Native American. As such, all townships in Emmons County were included while only those townships in U.S. census tracts having a Native American population approaching 75% of the total were selected on the reservation. This selective cluster sampling produced the ethnic stratification needed for testing the research hypotheses, without wasting project staff, money and time on households that did not meet the study sampling criteria.

The average number of households per rural cluster for the reservation was 9, while in Emmons County the average was 18 (these numbers were determined by evaluating rural directories or estimating the size of townships by extrapolating county rural population densities, depending on available data). Because of this difference in population density, the town clusters for each multi-stage cluster sample were not uniform, but rather, reflected the average size of the rural clusters in that area, giving town households the same opportunity for selection as those in more rural clusters. As such, town clusters for the reservation averaged 9 elements while the same clusters in Emmons County averaged 18 elements. Municipalities were mapped in order to identify the total number of town clusters for each sample. These town clusters were then combined with the rural clusters (rural townships) to form a cluster sampling frame for each sample.

The proportion of elements to clusters in this study was guided by the premise that elements within a cluster are generally more homogenous than elements across clusters (Babbie, 1990). Therefore, the number of clusters chosen was maximized and the number of elements selected from within each cluster minimized in order to develop the most representative sample (Babbie, 1990). This process ensured that the diversity across clusters was captured while still accurately representing the population of each cluster.

From each of the sampling frames 20 clusters were randomly selected. All households in each cluster were then numbered, forming a list of elements from which to sample. Two households from each cluster were randomly selected from this list. The first household in each cluster was designated a female household, and one woman from this household was interviewed for the study. The second household was designated a male household, and one male from this household was interviewed for the study. Households on Standing Rock Reservation had a $1/64$ (~1%) chance of being selected, while households in Emmons County had a $1/79$ (~1%) chance of being selected.

Household members selected for this study were solicited by phone (when possible) or by a home visit. Difficult to contact households were replaced by another randomly selected household after three solicitation attempts. Additionally, if there was no female or male household member available from the selected element, or if a resident declined to be interviewed after being contacted, additional households were randomly selected until one female and one male was chosen from each cluster.

Nonrandom Sample of Community Elders

A nonrandom sample of community elders (age 55 or greater) was identified for both Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County. These individuals were selected on the basis of how long they had lived in the community and how much they knew about local history. Community members were consulted on which elders fit these criteria, and based upon these recommendations elders were selected for oral history interviews. Through this process 30 elders were identified and interviewed. This sample was stratified by ethnicity with (15) European American elders selected from Emmons County and (15) Native American elders selected from Standing Rock Reservation. Additionally, though not part of the elder selection criteria, every effort was made to balance this sample by gender.

Although interview data from elders was not used to test hypotheses, this data did add rich contextual and historical information that complemented hypothesis testing and data analysis. Knowledge provided by elders on topics related to community change, personal change, and local cultures and traditions, provided added insights into the issues being explored by this study.

Instruments & Measures

There were two data gathering instruments for this study: 1) A community QOL instrument and 2) an oral history instrument.

Community QOL Instrument

The community QOL instrument was derived from the questions, scales and items used by Paredes and Joos (1980) in their study of community satisfaction in Alabama and Minnesota. In addition to these items, community

members and other stakeholders provided input for the development and inclusion of locally defined QOL questions. The community QOL instrument was only administered to those adults (age 18 or older) who were selected through the multi-stage cluster sample described above.

A battery of demographic characteristics were recorded for each respondent, including gender, age, occupation, years of education, heritage/ethnicity (e.g., Germans-from-Russia, Lakota etc.), community of residence and years of residence in the community. Gender was assessed by the interviewer, while the remaining demographic characteristics were provided by the respondent.

Income was measured on a four-point scale used by Jacob and Willits (1993) in their study of community life in Pennsylvania (1=less than \$20,000 2=\$20,000-\$29,999 3=\$30,000-\$49,999 4=greater than \$50,000). Respondents were asked to estimate their annual household income and place it on this scale.

Cantril self-anchoring scales (Cantril, 1965) were used to measure subjective evaluations of community QOL. The Cantril self-anchoring scale has been used in numerous other research endeavors to evaluate satisfaction at the community level (Paredes & Joos, 1980; Brief, 1993; Branholm & Deberman, 1992, Hansen & McSpadden, 1993, Graves & Van Arsdale, 1966; Pollnac et.al., 1975; Schensul et.al., 1968). This scale is considered self-anchoring because it allows the respondent to describe the criteria by which they are rating their community, creating an index that is specific to the subject yet comparable across subjects.

The Cantril scale is considered a productive method for gathering scale data, while getting people to talk openly about their lives (Bernard, 1994) across standardized queries. As such, it produces a data set that is comparable, descriptively rich, and anchored by the reality of a respondent's everyday life. Although the reliability of the Cantril scale has been questioned by scholars of QOL and life satisfaction (Larsen et.al., 1985), the apparent validity of this scale makes it a well balanced compromise between measurement approaches that stress either validity or reliability.

The Cantril scales measured community QOL for 40 years in the past, 5 years in the past, today and 5 years into the future, providing an indicator of community change and an assessment of individual optimism for a better future. QOL evaluations for each time interval were operationalized by a respondent's ranking on the Cantril 10-point scale. All rankings above 7 on this scale were considered satisfied, in keeping with the QOL gold standard of 75 +/- 2.5% SM established by Cummins (1995). Perceived community change was assessed by calculating the amount of change from five years ago to the present on community QOL scale responses. Change was operationalized by taking the difference between a past rating and a respondent's contemporary evaluation of their community; thus producing a negative sum (indicating decline - coded as zero), a positive sum (indicating improvement - coded as one) or a no-sum gain (indicating stasis - coded as zero). Optimism for the future was assessed by comparing a respondent's scale response for their community five years into the future *vis a vis* their rating for current community conditions. This was operationalized by taking the difference between one's perception of future

conditions and one's perception of current conditions, thus producing a positive sum (optimism for the future), a negative sum (pessimism for the future) or a no-sum gain (optimism for the future).

Oral History Instrument

The oral history instrument was administered exclusively to elders (age 55 or greater) who were selected through the nonrandom sample for this population. This instrument was composed of open-ended questions that queried elders about changes in community life on Standing Rock Reservation and in Emmons County.

These interviews took the form of a structured conversation allowing interviewees to answer each question in whatever manner they felt was appropriate (for example, stories or long narratives of personal experience). This format gave respondents the freedom to answer questions in a personally and culturally relevant manner, and did not restrict the individual in the amount or substance of their response.

Data Collection

Ethnographic Methods

Community data, outside of formal interviews, was gathered through participant observation and focused conversations. Observational data was gathered through unobtrusive methods by attending community events, participating in community activities, and observing community life while living in Emmons County and on Standing Rock Reservation. Focused conversations with community leaders, service providers and other community members provided

rich background information and insights. Local radio programs and newspapers were also relied upon to provide additional understandings into community life.

Interviews

Oral history and quality of life interviews were conducted at respondents' homes or mutually agreed upon, neutral locations. Each interview began with introductions and informed consent.

During the community QOL interviews respondents were first asked to describe the best and worst possible community and life they could imagine. Interviewers then showed the respondent a picture of a 10-rung ladder (10-point scale) anchored with the phrases best possible community at the top and worst possible community at the bottom. Respondents were then asked to place their communities on this ladder relative to where they were at that moment, where they were 40 years ago, where they were five years ago, and where they would be five years into the future. Respondents were also asked the reason for their rankings. In addition to these queries, respondents were asked a number of open-ended questions about their communities and how these communities are perceived by outsiders.

Oral history interviews did not include Cantril self-anchoring scales. Instead, interviewers queried elders about community change through open-ended questions that gave elders the opportunity to answer each question in the manner and direction most appropriate to themselves. Oral history interview sessions lasted approximately one to four hours while QOL interviews lasted less than one hour. All community QOL interviews were audio-taped, while oral history interviews were audio-taped and video-taped.

Research Assistants and Collaborative Data Collection

Research assistants participated in this study through classes, community-based seminars and internships offered by the University of North Dakota Department of Anthropology, Grand Forks, ND and Sitting Bull College, Fort Yates, ND. Additionally, other adult community members had the opportunity to work as research assistants on this project. All research assistants were trained in interview methods, instructed on the informed consent process, and briefed on informant confidentiality and research ethics before they began interviewing study respondents. Research assistants and interns reflected the populations under study, and included females and males, Native Americans and European Americans. The participation of these students and other community members facilitated demographic matching between interviewers and interviewees, reducing interviewer bias and respondent stress over the interview process. These assistants conducted 75% of the interviews for both Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County. I conducted the remaining interviews for this study and accompanied all research assistants on their initial interviews to ensure appropriate data collection methods across all interviewers.

Youth, ages 10-18, participated in this study through their local schools and community centers. These youth were not respondents in the research study. However, through classes in their schools and programs at local community centers, youth helped researchers collect oral histories with elders and document community conditions. Specifically, youth served as research assistants, running video-cameras during elder interviews, photographing elders and their communities, and asking interview questions. Youth were not exposed

to any adverse risks beyond those they experienced on a day to day basis as residents of the communities in which they were working. School chaperons and community center volunteers accompanied researchers and youth on all interviews, providing an institutional watchdog over youth behavior and participation in this study. Additionally, transportation to and from interviews was provided in school or community center vehicles, and driven by authorized staff. Youth participated in this study as an official school or community center activity and had the same institutional safeguards provided for any extra-curricular activity offered through these organizations.

Data Analysis

Short answer responses to community QOL and local history queries related to Cantril scales or other questions were reviewed for themes. Through this process 77 themes were identified. These themes were subsequently reduced to 18 by qualitatively analyzing the themes and grouping them together on the basis of their similarity. Short answer responses were then divided into discrete segments of text and imported into EZ-text, a content analysis program that facilitates the systematic coding of texts. Themes were coded for their presence or absence within each segment (1= presence, 0= absence), operationalizing the thematic content of the segment. Three individuals coded all short answer responses and the inter-coder reliability between these coders was tested via Kappa yielding a reliability score of .92, indicating an acceptable level of inter-coder agreement.

Responses to queries from the oral history instrument were coded for themes in Atlas-ti, a content analysis program that facilitates the systematic

coding of large, less organized, texts. Themes were coded for their presence or absence within defined segments (1= presence, 0= absence), operationalizing the thematic content of these interviews. Inter-coder reliability was not assessed because these responses were not used in statistical analyses. Oral history data were not included in the matrices created for data analysis in this study.

Segment theme frequencies for each respondent were exported from EZ-text to Microsoft Excel. Frequencies for each of the 18 themes were calculated by first grouping the constituent text segments for each interview question and then summing the scores across these segments for each theme. This process yielded a profile matrix composed of a separate frequency score for each theme relative to each of the Cantril queries across all respondents.

Factor analysis was then conducted on this theme matrix, producing a seven-theme model for community QOL. Frequency scores for these seven themes were calculated by summing the scores across each of the constituent sub-themes. This yielded a new profile matrix composed of a separate frequency score for each of the seven themes relative to each respondent and Cantril query. Frequencies for each of the seven themes were transformed into proportions to control for respondent differences in verbosity and to isolate the relative importance of each element in a given QOL model. Theme frequencies were converted into proportions for each respondent across each question by summing the theme frequencies and dividing the total for each theme by the sum.

Group and subgroup scores were calculated by summing individual scores for each theme and dividing these scores by the total number of respondents.

These proportions were then used to compare subgroups relative to general QOL preferences for a good community and each of the selected time intervals. Comparisons were graphically rendered, revealing group specific QOL preferences, the relative importance of each QOL factor, community change, felt needs and anticipatory needs. Theme proportions and scale responses were merged into a single data matrix corresponding to each time anchored Cantril question. Demographic data was also added to each of these matrices.

Independent T-tests were conducted to identify statistically significant differences in the proportions across each of the groups being compared in this study. A Pearson correlation matrix and regression models were developed for each of the QOL data matrices to explore relationships across QOL themes and demographic variables. Additionally, regression models were also constructed for satisfaction with current community conditions, positive community change and optimism for the future to test the hypothesis that civic engagement is the primary causal variable in explaining the variance across these phenomena.

The following chapters summarize these findings. Statistically significant findings with p-values less than or equal to .05 (e.g., differences between proportions, regression models, and correlations) are italicized throughout the summary charts and discussions that comprise these chapters.

CHAPTER 4 THE GOOD COMMUNITY

Community members in Emmons County and on Standing Rock

Reservation asserted that the communities across the river from themselves were somehow a different world. Although there are apparent cultural and historic differences between these communities that belie this assertion, their close proximity as neighbors, similar environmental contexts and concurrent struggle with rural decline and isolation suggest that there are just as many similarities. The following chapter maps these similarities and differences relative to QOL preferences for the good community.

Quality of Life Factors and the Good Community

As was mentioned in the previous chapter, 77 themes were initially identified during content analysis of open-ended responses. These themes were then reduced to the following 18 major themes:

- CUL - Culture and tradition
- HOU - Inter-household relations
- REL - Religion
- SAF - Public safety
- ECO - Economics
- INF - Physical infrastructure
- EDC - Education
- SOC - Social services
- PRO - Social problems
- GOV - Local, state or federal government
- CIV - Civic engagement and attachment
- FAM - Intra-household relations or family
- REC - Recreation, entertainment and social activities
- DEM - Location, access, population, diversity

- SOL - Style of life, scale, rural living, farm life, small town
- ENV - Natural environment

Factor analysis of these themes produced a seven factor model for community QOL and the good community (Table 4). These factors and their composite themes are:

- Vision - CUL, REL, GOV
- Engagement - HOU, SOL, CIV
- Infrastructure - INF, ENV
- Attainment - ECO, EDC
- Access - DEM, REC, SOC
- Safety - PRO, SAF
- Family - FAM

This model for the good community accounts for 70% of the variance in QOL preferences. Vision, Engagement and Infrastructure each account for 11% of the variance in this model, while Attainment, Access, Safety and Family account for 7-9% of the variance respectively.

The seven factors were interpreted and defined in the following ways:

- Vision: This factor encompasses both ideological and structural themes. It includes traditions (culture - CUL), morals (religion - REL) and government (expressed most often in terms of leadership - GOV). This factor relates to institutions or ideological structures that provide guidance for people as they move from one personal or community challenge to the next.
- Engagement: The two primary themes comprising this factor are civic engagement (CIV) and inter-household relationships (HOU). Additionally, it includes small town style of life (SOL), a *gemeinschaft* where people know each other and work together on problems.

- Infrastructure: This factor includes themes for physical infrastructure (INF) and the environment (ENV). It describes community concerns for physical (built) and environmental infrastructure.
- Attainment: Economics (ECO) and education (EDC) comprise this factor which describes an interest in and concern for community contexts that promote personal betterment and attainment through either income or education. The blending of these two themes into one category makes intuitive sense when one considers that education and income are often strongly correlated.

	Vision	Engagement	Infrastructure	Attainment	Access	Safety	Family
CUL	.851						
GOV	.758						
REL	.511						
HOU		.779					
CIV		.741					
SOL		.557					
ENV			.828				
INF			.777				
EDC				.745			
ECO				.737			
REC					.690		
DEM					.680		
SOC					.606		
PRO						.860	
SAF						.737	
FAM							.857

Table 4. Rotated Component Matrix

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
a Rotation converged in 11 iterations.

- Access: Access to services, entertainment and recreation are important concerns to people who live in rural areas with low population densities. This factor captures themes for demographics (DEM), recreation (REC) and social services (SOC) and describes these concerns. REC and SER clearly relate to

a concern over access to social services, entertainment and recreation activities. The theme DEM also captures aspects of these themes while providing additional nuances relative to population decline, location and age distributions that all speak to services and access relative to community characteristics (e.g., fewer people means fewer services, older people means fewer services for young people and an isolated location creates access issues).

- **Safety:** This factor is composed of social problems (PRO) and public safety (SAF). Social problems were most often articulated as safety issues. Concerns such as property crime, crimes against children, violent crime etc. were common references within the social problems theme, as were addictions, which were often mentioned relative to their influence on heightened incidences of crime and violence. Similarly, public safety was most often defined by concerns for safety in general and the role and efficacy of police in maintaining a safe neighborhood. As such, this factor captures community concerns and preferences for a safe environment.
- **Family:** This factor includes the theme for intra-household relationships (FAM). It represents the importance of family and intra-household relationships in community QOL.

General Conceptions and Preferences for the Good Community

The most important factor for a good community (Figure 2) across all groups was Engagement, followed by Safety and Attainment. These factors, taken together, accounted for 72% of all good community responses. It is clear that when looking at all respondents as a group, regardless of ethnicity, age,

gender or other subgroup distinctions, civic engagement and inter-household relationships are the most important components for a good community QOL. Although many of the communities in this study were safe, low crime communities (with the exception of a several reservation towns), the significance of public safety was central to conceptions for good community QOL. Finally, the community as a context for promoting economic and educational attainment was also an important component in QOL issues and preferences.

When describing preferences for a good community QOL, people emphasized relationships and safety, trust and security, collective action and mutual protection. Although economic factors are brought into this model through the Attainment factor, material, economic and attainment preferences are clearly less important to subjective assessments of a good community QOL than ideological or structural influences.

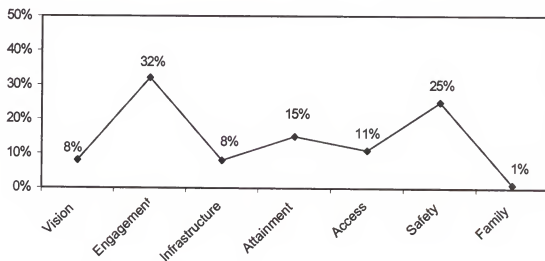


Figure 2. The Good Community

Inter-group Differences

The above model describes preferences for all respondents in this study, it is a localized macro construction of the good community shared between residents of Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation. Although there are a great many similarities across sub-groups for the preferences represented in this model there are also areas where sub-groups differ.

When looking at sub-group preferences (Figures 3, 4 and 5) there are significant differences by ethnicity for several QOL factors, while Gender and Cohort show little inter-group differentiation. As such, ethnicity will be the primary macro group division that will be explored throughout later sections of this dissertations. Although, intra-group differences will be addressed for Gender and Cohort relative to the good community and QOL preferences, in later analyses Gender and Cohort will be explored for their contribution to intra-cultural variation across the two primary ethnic groups in this study, European Americans and Native Americans.

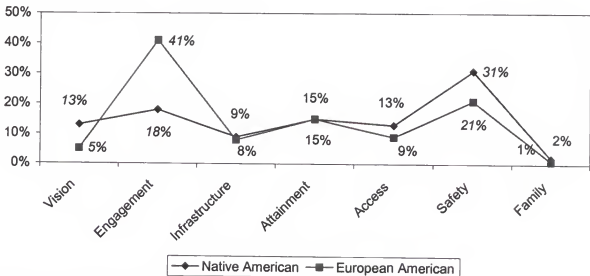


Figure 3. The Good Community by Ethnicity

European Americans, consistent with the macro good community model for all groups, placed greatest emphasis on Engagement followed by Safety and Attainment. In contrast, Native Americans most often mentioned Safety followed by Engagement and Attainment. European Americans and Native Americans both placed relatively equal emphasis on Access (though Native Americans emphasized this factor more). However, there were major disconnects between these groups relative to Vision, Engagement and Safety. For Native Americans cultural traditions, religious values and good leaders were more important than

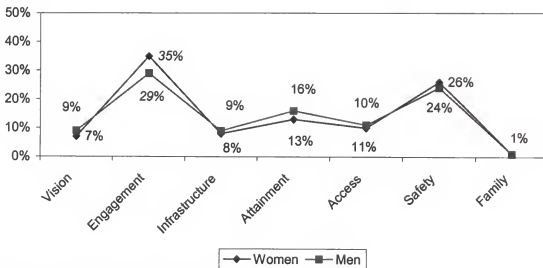


Figure 4. The Good Community by Gender

they were for European Americans, whereas, Engagement was far more significant for European Americans than it was for Native Americans.

Regression models for Vision and Engagement support the ethnic split for these factors. Ethnicity accounted for 27% of the variance for Vision and 58% of the variance for Engagement. Similarly, Native Americans placed greater emphasis on safety factors than did European Americans.

Despite these proportional differences, both Native Americans and European Americans mentioned Engagement, Safety and Attainment issues most frequently, mirroring the macro-model described above. Additionally, the rank order of these factors differed only by that factor which was first versus second on their list of issues important for a good community. Engagement, Safety and Attainment accounted for 77% of all European American and 64% of

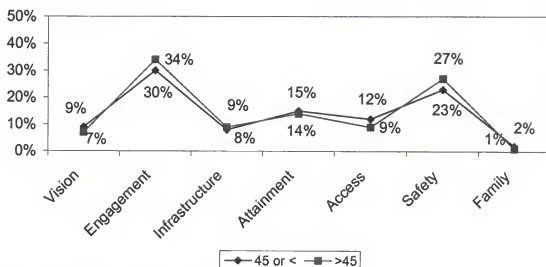


Figure 5. The Good Community by Cohort

Native American responses when describing their QOL preferences for the good community.

As mentioned, there were few significant inter-group differences by Gender or Cohort. However, women placed more emphasis on Engagement and Safety than did men, while men mentioned attainment issues more frequently than women. Relative to age, those older than 45 years valued Engagement and Safety at slightly higher rates than did those age 45 or younger.

Intra-group Differences

Native Americans

Although there were few inter-group differences for men and women irrespective of ethnicity, there is considerable intra-ethnic differentiation for Native Americans by gender (Figure 6). Both Native men and women value

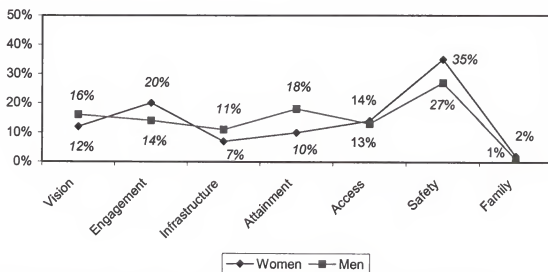


Figure 6. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among Native Americans by Gender

Safety as the most important component for good community QOL, but women more so than men. Additionally, men place greater emphasis on Vision than women and also stress this factor over Engagement in their model for the good community. In contrast, women prefer Engagement over Vision and emphasize this factor more than men. This dichotomous relationship was also observed for European Americans relative to Native Americans and suggests a continuum of Vision versus Engagement sequenced by ethnicity, gender and cohort. Finally, men were also more material in their preferences, placing greater emphasis on both Attainment and Infrastructure than women (for men attainment was the third

most important factor, whereas for women this was the sixth most important factor).

When looking at Native Americans by cohort we again see intra-group differences and similarities (Figure 7). Both groups valued Safety as the most important quality of a good community similar to intra-group comparisons by gender. Also similar to the by gender comparison are dichotomous preferences for Vision and Engagement, with younger Native Americans preferring vision to

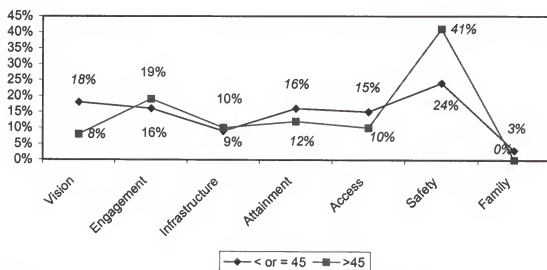


Figure 7. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among Native Americans by Cohort

Engagement and older Native Americans preferring Engagement to Vision. Although younger Native Americans emphasized Vision, Engagement was still a significant factor for them and ranked third, along with Attainment, among the most important factors for a good community. Similarly, older Native Americans also valued Attainment as the third most important factor for a good community, though at a slightly lower level than younger Native Americans.

Although there were no statistically significant Pearson's correlation scores between independent demographic variables and factors for the good community among Native Americans, continuums were identified for each factor that are driven by either cohort or gender (Table 5). These continuums highlight and summarize the major intra-cultural differences described earlier in this chapter for Native Americans and point to several overriding themes for this group relative to preferences for the good community.

<i>Safety</i>	<i>Engagement</i>	<i>Vision</i>	<i>Attainment</i>	<i>Access</i>	<i>Infrastructure</i>	<i>Family</i>
Old (41)	Women (20)	Young (18)	Men (18)	Young (15)	Men (11)	Young (3)
Women (35)	Old (19)	Men (16)	Young (16)	Women (14)	Old (10)	Women (2)
Men (27)	Young (16)	Women (12)	Old (12)	Men (13)	Young (9)	Men (1)
Young (24)	Men (14)	Old (8)	Women (10)	Old (10)	Women (7)	Old (0)
Cohort	Gender	Cohort	Gender	Cohort	Gender	Cohort

Table 5. Factor Continuums for Native Americans

The old and women are most concerned with Safety, suggesting their increased sense of vulnerability relative to younger residents and men. Inter-household relationships and civic engagement are especially important to women and the elderly while younger residents and men place greater value on developing a shared vision for their people and community, looking to traditions and leaders as important community roadmaps. Men as a group were more material than other sub-groups and had the highest scores for both Attainment and Infrastructure, whereas women had the lowest scores for both these factors. Finally, the young and women are more concerned with access to social services, recreation and intra-household relations relative to other subgroups.

European Americans

European Americans are more homogenous across sub-groups than Native Americans. When comparing women to men there are few disconnects between these groups and many of the preference proportions are either identical or separated by only 1-2% points (Figure 8). The same is generally true across European American cohort groups, with the exception of the Safety factor (Figure 9). Additionally, although counterintuitive, younger European Americans placed greater emphasis on Safety than did older European Americans.

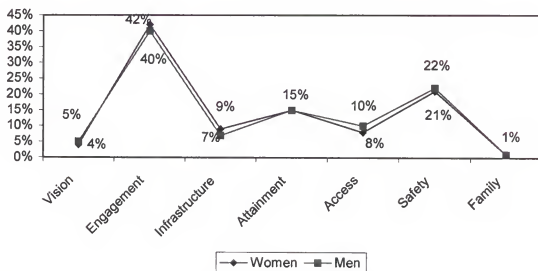


Figure 8. The Good Community—Intra-group Differences among European Americans by Gender

Women

Intra-group differences among women were most influenced by ethnicity (Figure 10). However, these differences tended to mirror overall differences between Native Americans and European Americans. As such, although Native American and European American women emphasize several factors differentially they do so in a manner consistent with that for their ethnic group as

a whole, revealing no new inter or intra-group contrasts. The one exception to this is the Attainment factor. In the macro-ethnic comparison, Attainment scores for Native Americans and European Americans were identical. However, in the Women by Ethnicity comparison, European American women valued Attainment more than Native American women, highlighting a greater emphasis on material attainment, economics and education for this sub-group.

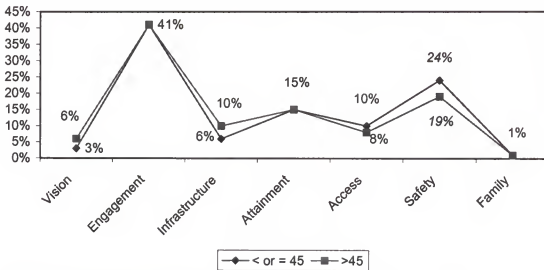


Figure 9. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among European Americans by Cohort

Cohort provided few new insights into intra-group variation among women (Figure 11). Engagement is the only factor having statistically significant differences between the good community profiles for older women versus younger women. Although older women clearly value Engagement more than younger women, this factor is the most important feature of a good community for both younger and older women, and merely highlights an intensity difference between these groups rather than a thematic shift from one good community conception to another.

Engagement	Safety	Attainment	Access	Infrastructure	Vision	Family
Women (42)	Young (24)	Young (15)	Men (10)	Old (10)	Old (6)	Young (1)
Young (41)	Men (22)	Men (15)	Young (10)	Women (9)	Men (5)	Women (1)
Old (41)	Women (21)	Women (15)	Old (8)	Men (7)	Women (4)	Men (1)
Men (40)	Old (19)	Old (15)	Women (8)	Young (6)	Young (3)	Old (1)
Gender	Cohort	None	None	Cohort	Cohort	None

Table 6. Factor Continuums for European Americans

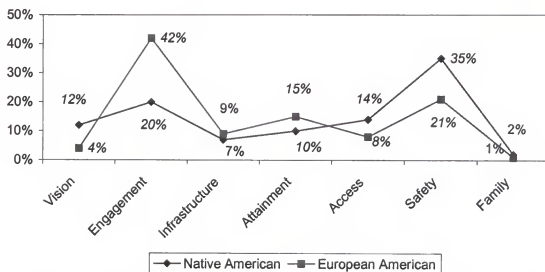


Figure 10. The Good Community - Intra-group Differences among Women by Ethnicity

Factor continuums (Table 8) among women are evident for Engagement, Safety, Attainment and Vision. Ethnicity is the primary variable driving all of these continuums. Engagement and Attainment both have continuums from European American and younger women scoring high and older women and Native Americans scoring low. Conversely, Vision and safety formed continuums with Native American and younger women having high scores and older women and European Americans having lower scores. Finally, Safety can also be described by a continuum running from Native American and older women to younger women and European Americans.

Men

Intra-group differences among men for the good community were similar to those reported earlier for women. When exploring these differences relative to ethnicity (Figure 12), the profile for a good community again resembles that for macro-level comparisons of Native American and European American preferences. Significant differences were found for Vision, Engagement, and Safety similar to the macro-level model. Native American men were more concerned with Vision and the role of government, leadership, culture and religion in a good community. They were also very concerned with community safety issues relative to community QOL, and this factor is the most important overall factor for a good community among Native American men. Conversely, the most important factor for European American men is Engagement followed by Safety. Although the distance between Native American and European American scores is large for Vision and Engagement, they both hold a mutual concern for community Safety and only differ by 5% on this factor. In surprising contrast to earlier findings among women, Native American men placed greater importance on material factors such as Attainment and Infrastructure than did European American men. This highlights an interesting contradiction from that found among women for the good community, in that Native women are less material than European American women, but Native American men are more material than European American men.

There were few significant differences among men by cohort. However, older men were more concerned about Safety than younger men (Figure 13).

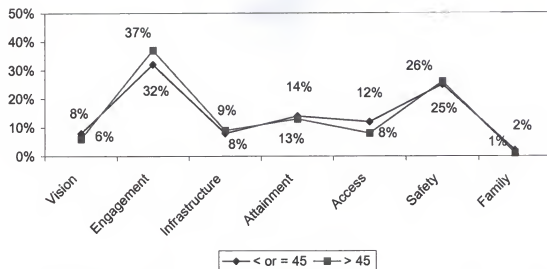


Figure 11. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among Women by Cohort

Engagement	Safety	Attainment	Access	Vision	Infrastructure	Family
Euro (42)	Native (35)	Euro (15)	Native (14)	Native (12)	Euro (9)	Young (2)
Young (32)	Old (26)	Young (14)	Young (12)	Young (8)	Old (9)	Native (2)
Old (37)	Young (25)	Old (13)	Old (8)	Old (6)	Young (8)	Euro (1)
Native (20)	Euro (21)	Native (10)	Euro (8)	Euro (4)	Native (7)	Old (1)
Ethnicity	Ethnicity	Ethnicity	None	Ethnicity	None	None

Table 7. Factor Continuums for Women

Similar to those found for women, ethnicity driven factor continuums among men are evident for Engagement, Attainment and Vision (Table 8). Engagement forms a continuum from European American and younger men scoring high to older men and Native Americans scoring low. Conversely, Vision forms a continuum having Native American and younger men at the high end and older men and European Americans at the low end. In contrast to the Attainment continuum defined earlier for women, Native American and younger men anchor the high extreme while older men and European Americans are at the low end of this continuum.

Age cohort: 45 or less (The Young)

As with earlier explorations of intra-group variation relative to the Good Community, differences among members of this cohort were dependent more on ethnicity than on other demographic variables (Figure 14). The major distinctions between Native Americans and European Americans for this cohort were found across the Vision and Engagement categories, similar to macro-ethnic comparisons. Among Native Americans, Safety was once again the most important component in a good community, followed by Engagement, Vision and Attainment respectively. Among European Americans, Safety was also the most important component, followed by Engagement, Vision and Attainment respectively.

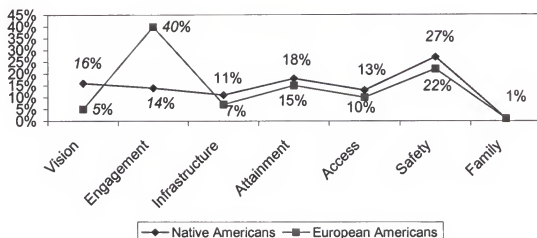


Figure 12. The Good Community--Intra-Group Differences Among Men by Ethnicity

European Americans, on the other hand, placed greatest emphasis on Engagement followed by Safety and Attainment. Preference scores for Safety and Attainment among Native Americans and European Americans are identical, while differences of greater than 10% exist for Vision and Engagement, with Native Americans placing greater emphasis on Vision and European Americans

placing higher value on Engagement. There were no significant differences across the seven factors for a good community when exploring these preferences by gender for this cohort (Figure 15).

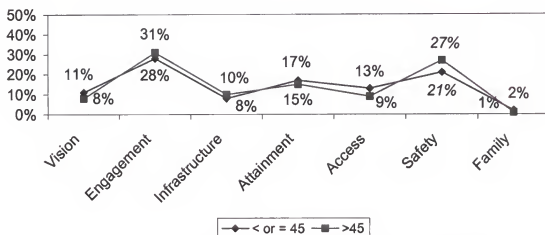


Figure 13. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among Men by Cohort

Engagement	Safety	Attainment	Access	Vision	Infrastructure	Family
Euro (40)	Native (27)	Native (18)	Native (13)	Native (16)	Native (11)	Young (2)
Old (31)	Old (27)	Young (17)	Young (13)	Young (11)	Old (10)	Native (1)
Young (28)	Euro (22)	Old (15)	Old (9)	Old (8)	Young (10)	Euro (1)
Native (14)	Young (21)	Euro (15)	Euro (9)	Euro (5)	Euro (7)	Old (1)
Ethnicity	None	Ethnicity	None	Ethnicity	None	None

Table 8. Factor Continuums for Men

Factor continuums were identified for Engagement, Vision, Access and Attainment. Engagement, Vision and Access continuums are most heavily defined by ethnicity, while Attainment is dependent more on a gender dichotomy (Table 9). Engagement forms a continuum from European American and women (higher preference) to men and Native Americans (lower preference). Conversely, Vision and Access both form continuums having Native American

and men at the high end and women and European Americans at the low end. In contrast to the above relationships, the continuum defined for Attainment dichotomized men and Native American respondents (higher preference) versus women and European American respondents.

Age Cohort: Over 45(The Old)

Native Americans and European Americans in the age >45 cohort differed in only two areas relative to their preferences for a good community. For European American elders Engagement was the most important factor, whereas for Native American elders Safety was the most significant element in a good community (Figure 16). Unlike previous comparisons among members of these ethnic groups, Vision was not a differentiating factor. Additionally, elders from both groups differed by less than 4% across the remaining factors for a good community highlighting strong group similarities among elders regardless of ethnicity, with the exception of the Engagement and Safety factors.

Additionally, men and women of this age cohort differed by less than 3% across all factors except for Engagement (Figure 17). This factor is the only QOL preference where male and female elders show a significant difference, with women placing greater emphasis on engagement than men.

Two factor continuums were identified for the >45-age cohort: Engagement and Safety (Table 9). The primary variable distinguishing differences along these continuums is ethnicity. Engagement is differentiated along a continuum from European American elders and women (high end) to men and Native American elders (low end). In contrast, high and low scores for Safety extend along a continuum from Native American elders and men (high

end) to women and European American elders (low end). Unlike other by ethnic comparisons, there were no significant differences between elder groups for the Vision factor.

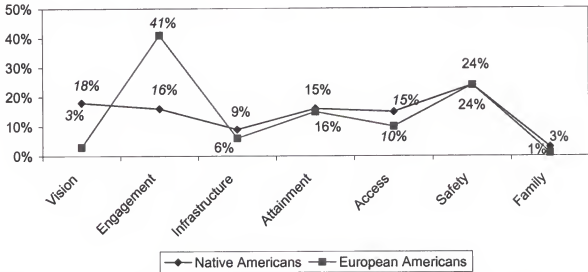


Figure 14. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among ≤ 45 Age Cohort by Ethnicity

Engagement	Safety	Vision	Attainment	Access	Infrastructure	Family
Euro (41)	Women (25)	Native (18)	Men (17)	Native (15)	Native (9)	Native (3)
Women (32)	Native (24)	Men (11)	Native (16)	Men (13)	Men (6)	Women (2)
Men (28)	Euro (24)	Women (8)	Euro (15)	Women (12)	Women (6)	Men (2)
Native (16)	Men (21)	Euro (3)	Women (14)	Euro (10)	Euro (6)	Euro (1)
Ethnicity	None	Ethnicity	Gender	Ethnicity	None	None

Table 9. Factor Continuums for ≤ 45 Age Cohort

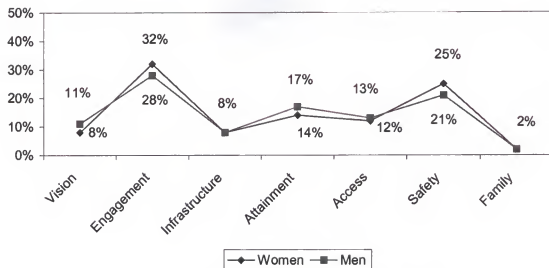


Figure 15. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among < or = 45 Age Cohort by Gender

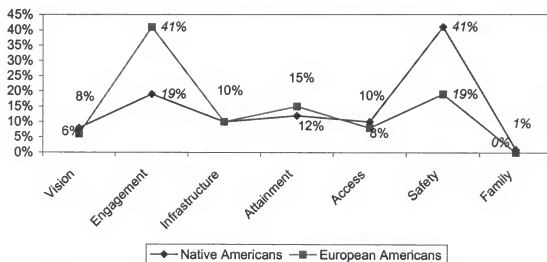


Figure 16. The Good Community - Intra-group Differences among >45 Age Cohort by Ethnicity

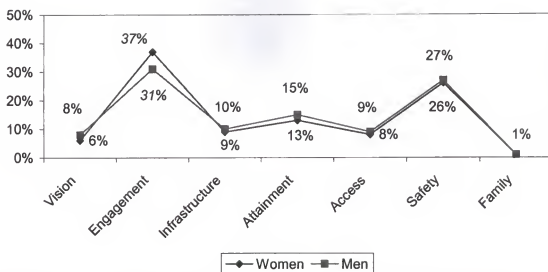


Figure 17. The Good Community--Intra-group Differences among >45 Age Cohort by Gender

Engagement	Safety	Attainment	Access	Infrastructure	Vision	Family
Euro (41)	Native (41)	Euro (15)	Native (10)	Native (10)	Native (8)	Women (1)
Women (37)	Men (27)	Men (15)	Men (9)	Men (10)	Men (8)	Euro (1)
Men (31)	Women (26)	Women (13)	Women (8)	Euro (10)	Women (6)	Men (1)
Native (19)	Euro (19)	Native (12)	Euro (8)	Women (9)	Euro (6)	Native (0)
Ethnicity	Ethnicity	None	None	None	None	None

Table 10. Factor Continuums for > 45 Age Cohort

The above findings highlight the differences and similarities across the sub-groups under consideration in this study. These findings suggest that Native Americans and European Americans have very similar QOL preferences for the good community. Although there were differences between these groups in the order and proportional strength of their prioritized factors, they both most frequently mentioned the same three factors: Engagement, Safety and Attainment. When Native Americans and European Americans discuss their ideal community, in many ways, they are describing a very similar place.

The findings reported in this chapter highlight the importance of Engagement factors in QOL preferences for the good community among both Native Americans and European Americans living in Emmons County and on Standing Rock Reservation. These preferences support Putnam's (2000) assertion that it is important to balance social capital development with human and physical capital development in building better communities and a more robust QOL. The following chapter will explore community change, current conditions, and prospective conditions for Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation through the seven factors of a good community that have been described in this section.

CHAPTER 5

The Past and Future are Better Places

Community residents of Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation both reported community change from 40 years ago through to today and 5 years into the future. The shape of these community change profiles is strikingly similar. Although residents of Emmons County give higher ratings on the (10) point Cantril QOL scales for their community at each time interval, both sets of time or event anchored community evaluations form a concave curve (Figure 18).

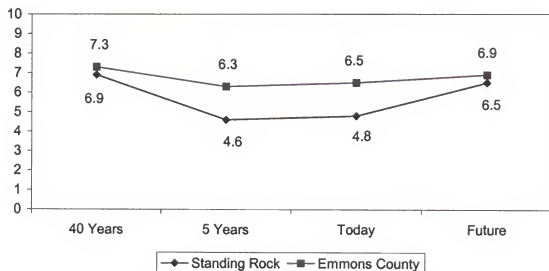


Figure 18. Community Change

In the case of both curves, the highest community ratings are for 40 years ago, while the lowest ratings are for 5 years ago. There is a small increase in the ratings from 5 years ago to today suggesting that both Emmons County and

Standing Rock have recently experienced positive community change.

Additionally, residents in both communities are optimistic for a better tomorrow and give higher ratings for their communities in the future relative to today.

Standing Rock residents gave high ratings for their community 40 years in the past and in the future but very low ratings for their community 5 years in the past and today. Community members on the Standing Rock Reservation see the past as a period when their communities were stronger, healthier and more traditional. However, Changes over the last 40 years have precipitated both community decline and hopes for a better future. Although Standing Rock residents did not give their community a rating above the satisfaction gold standard established in the previous chapter or any event anchored point in time, both the ratings for 40 years in the past and 5 years into the future approach this satisfaction threshold. However, ratings for 5 years in the past and today suggest that the community currently has a great many challenges to overcome if it hopes to achieve the level of community QOL reported by residents for 40 years in the past and anticipated 5 years into the future.

Emmons County residents are generally more satisfied with their communities in the past and present, and more optimistic about the future, relative to Standing Rock residents. Despite this fact, most of the community ratings through time for Emmons County are below the satisfaction threshold, although all were above six on the Cantril QOL scale. The one exception to this is the rating for 40 years in past, which is the only time anchored evaluation for either Emmons County or the Standing Rock Reservation that breached the satisfaction threshold. Similar to the community change profile for the Standing

Rock Reservation, Emmons County residents rate their community the highest 40 years in the past and 5 years in the future, while the lowest ratings are for 5 years in the past and today. Although this profile is concave, the community change profile for Emmons County is much flatter than that for the Standing Rock Reservation and suggests a higher QOL today and fewer challenges in meeting community aspirations for the future. However, there have been considerable demographic, economic and social changes in Emmons County that have both adversely and positively impacted this community and present it with a number of crucial challenges and opportunities for creating a viable and sustainable community in the future.

The following sections will describe community conditions across the seven factors for a good community and QOL for each of the time anchored periods rated above. These conditions will be explored relative to Ethnicity for each time interval. Additionally, felt and anticipatory needs will be highlighted throughout this discussion.

My Community 40 Years Ago

The Pick-Sloan Plan was approved by congress in 1944 as a joint project of the Army Corps of Engineers and the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation. This plan called for a series of dams along the main-stem, and smaller tributaries of the Missouri River that would control flooding, create a more navigable channel, and provide a source for agricultural irrigation and hydroelectric power. Dams were planned for Montana (Ft. Peck Dam), North Dakota (Garrison Dam) and South Dakota (Oahe Dam, Ft. Randel Dam and Big Bend Dam), among others.

Construction of Oahe Dam, north of Pierre, SD, began in the late 1940s through to the early 1960s. Closure of this dam was achieved in August of 1958, and waters began inundating land in the Missouri River Valley throughout 1959 (Lawson, 1982). This dam created the Oahe Reservoir, a body of water deeper than Lake Erie and longer than Lake Ontario (Lawson, 1982) that flooded the Missouri River Valley for over 250 miles, inundating Native American and European American land holdings from Pierre, SD to Bismarck, ND. The Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County were both impacted by the construction of Oahe dam, and this project stands as one of the largest and most influential development projects to impact the region during the 20th century. However, Standing Rock and Emmons County were not equally affected by this project, although the era before and immediately after its construction are important and vividly recollected periods in the history of each community.

Standing Rock 40 Years Ago

"They've looked at the economic loss related to the dam but not the social and spiritual...they haven't looked at what that dam did to the social infrastructure of the Lakota.... what it did to our families...and we're still trying to recover from that"

Lawson (1982) asserts that the "...Oahe Dam destroyed more Indian land than any other public works project in America". The Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Reservation, adjacent and further south, were the two tribal nations most affected by the Oahe Dam, losing a combined 160,889 acres to the project (Lawson, 1982). This land included the most valuable rangeland, garden areas, farming land and timber, wild foods and game resources (Lawson, 1982). Over 60% of the native ranchers on Standing Rock were adversely affected, while 90% of the timber resources on both reservations were destroyed

(Lawson, 1982). The Standing Rock tribe was forced to relocate over 25% its residents due to the inundation of Missouri River Valley land. Outside of the transition to Reservation life during the last half of the 19th century, many on Standing Rock feel that the construction of Oahe Dam was one of the most significant impacts in transforming their communities over the last 150 years.

In describing their community 40 years ago (before and immediately after Oahe Dam), Native Americans on the Standing Rock Reservation most frequently discussed issues of Engagement, Attainment, Infrastructure and Safety (see Table 27). These issues reflect what was strong in the community during that time but also address the impact of the dam and other matters that have improved through time.

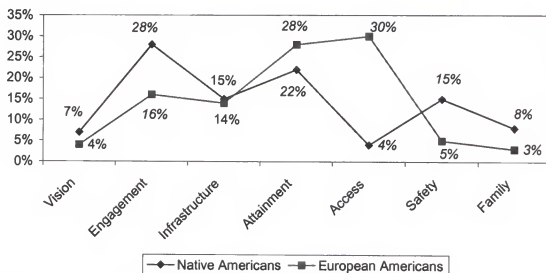


Figure 19. My Community 40 Years Ago

Engagement

Engagement was the most frequently mentioned aspect of community life 40 years in the past. This factor was also significantly correlated with higher community QOL ratings (.396*) for this period.

Standing Rock residents asserted that their communities 40 years ago were supportive contexts where people helped each other across households and genuinely cared about the well being of fellow community members. Families were stronger and community unity was a defining quality that helped individuals and households through hard times. Life was defined in more collective terms and household problems were community problems. People trusted each other and counted on their fellow community members in times of need. Everyone was considered an auntie or an uncle, and the Lakota ethic of "mitakuye oyasin" tightly held households together:

"...the people were a lot more united and helped each other and there was less alcohol and a lot of sober people back then...a lot of good people...they didn't have much money but they were rich in family and unity"

"During the hard times then people were brought together and helped each other out."

"...modernization and the improvements the White man brought to the 'Res'...it separated people...people had more community togetherness back then...the gatherings were bigger and people got along together and uncles and aunties wouldn't hesitate to help a niece or a nephew...people today are just looking out for their own life...no one today is looking out for the youth...back then everyone was an uncle or auntie...but today people need to be paid by that green dollar bill."

"...people respected each other pretty much you know and I always wanted to go back to then...you didn't expect monies...expect support....and if you were given a thank you or a meal then it was a great thing...and everybody did those kinds of things for each other...."

Beyond inter-household relationships and mutual support, Standing Rock residents asserted that community members were more actively involved in civic activities and organizations prior to the dam. Giveaways and powwows were better attended, and parents were more actively involved in community gardens and local schools. People took greater pride in their homes and worked together

to maintain a positive community aesthetic in keeping with their values and concerns.

"...everyone was involved in everything you know...the church...the community...the town itself...the school...and you never had the trouble we now have with kids"

"One big thing that is missing is the community gardens...they used to bring people together...sharing just isn't there anymore"

"Even though there weren't a lot of jobs...people took pride in their homes and cared about their children's education and helped each other out..."

These strong household relationships and high levels of civic engagement engendered a safe community context where people knew and trusted each other. The inter-household relationship variable, a constituent element of the Engagement factor, was significantly correlated (.363*) with the Safety factor, stressing the relationship between public safety, public trust and inter-household relationships.

However, disunity and divisiveness have increasingly come to define community contexts on Standing Reservation since construction of the Oahe Dam. Although other development projects and historical influences have fueled this divisiveness from early reservation days to the present, community members recognize the pre-dam period as a time when there were fewer fractures among the Standing Rock people:

"because no matter what district you lived in a long time ago all the people helped each other...and now the reservation is split South Dakota and North Dakota....and South Dakota is making their demands...they even want the tribal offices moved down there and they always say that we get more of the money and housing and stuff up here in North Dakota....and you never used to hear this as much before the dam"

Attainment and Infrastructure

Before the construction of Oahe Dam many residents on the Standing Rock Reservation lived in the Missouri River Valley. This Valley was rich in timber resources, wild game, native foods / plants (such as berries, mousepeas, prairie turnips and the like) and fertile soil for gardens. Tribal members would often reflect fondly on the scenic beauty of the valley:

"I would say that it was very beautiful...I remember that place when I was little...it was so full of trees and beautiful...and just green...you could drive all day and never see the sun....you could go from Ft. Yates to Kenel and be covered by trees the whole way...why did they do that anyway? Why did they build that dam?"

Although reservation communities and households at this time were cash-poor, they were self-sufficient and able to draw upon the rich timber resources, wild game, native foods and community gardens in order to provide for their families. As one Standing Rock resident recollected:

"We were a lot better off back then because we had a lot of choice bottom-land and we had community gardens...there were a lot of wild fruits and vegetables that grew down there and a lot of deer and trees for building houses and for firewood and a lot of other things that you could find....it helped us be, what you call it...more independent ...we were poor but we could do for ourselves"

Attainment and Infrastructure are intimately related during this time on the reservation because the major community and household assets contributing to family stability, viability and sustainability were natural resources. Statistically significant correlations were also found between the theme for economics and those for the environment (.357*) and infrastructure (.322*), the two variables comprising the Infrastructure factor. Furthermore, community QOL scale ratings for this period were positively correlated with the Attainment factor. This suggests that satisfaction with the past is in part due to community held

perceptions that families and communities were better off as a result of their access to the environmental resources of the Missouri River Valley.

Many Standing Rock residents asserted that the Oahe Dam destroyed their communities and a self-sufficient, more traditional, way of life. The content of both the Attainment and Infrastructure factors reflects these sentiments. These factors are not only driven by the positive assessments of community life and resources during the pre-dam period (as mentioned above), but also the destruction that the dam wrought upon these resources and reservation communities.

As was mentioned, many Standing Rock residents were forced to relocate as a result of the Oahe Dam. These and other Standing Rock residents are quick to describe the hardship that this relocation caused local families. In many cases households were reduced to an even greater level of poverty and resource scarcity over both the short and long-term, as one Standing Rock resident asserted:

"and the Army Corps of Engineers came and told my dad that we had to move our house....and if we didn't move it they were going to condemn it...and we had two houses on our lot...we had our new house and we had our old log house....which is the log house my father's father built and where his parents lived and they all grew up in that log house...so we just had to abandon that log house and our property and right now its underneath that dike...and that's a psychological familial attachment that we were forced to sever...and we had to move out to Ponderosa you know...that's Sioux Village now and we had no water, no electricity, no plumbing and we had to haul water....so we were living poor before the dam but we went to a worse state of poverty, we were forced into that poverty because of that dam...so our quality of life deteriorated I guess"

This relocation and loss of Missouri River Valley resources had impacts on local residents beyond physical displacement and resource marginality. Many on the reservation feel that the shift from wild foods, fresh garden produce and

native plants to a heavy reliance on commodities in the post-dam period caused numerous health problems for the people of Standing Rock:

"...and the dam started all these social ills that we have...and diabetes to and all of the other physical illnesses that are killing us through the commodities you know... giving the Indians commodities that eventually cause physical illnesses... and after the dam that's all people were eating....and they didn't know how to prepare those things that were loaded with sweets and sugars....because they were used to gardens and wild game that was more healthier....but after the dam there was no more gardens...no more hunting and a lot less fishing to...even though that's what a lot of White guys come down here to do in their fancy boats...on the reservoir you know"

The loss of community gardens and other natural resources, and the relocation from the Missouri River Valley to the plains surrounding the river, made it difficult for those who were relocated to continue certain aspects of a more traditional Lakota way of life. This way of life was grounded in the riverine environment and community contexts that evolved during the reservation period. As two local residents describe:

"Being a Lakota is more than language and religion...it's a way of life and when the dam went up it not only damaged the environment it also damaged our sociological environment on the reservation...it took away our Lakota way of life"

"Before the dam we were able to use food and animals along the river...like the porcupine...we used to use it for regalia and medicine...and still do but they are almost all gone on Standing Rock, the dam wiped most of them out...and the porcupine is important to the Hunkpapa"

All of these impacts had the effect of decreasing tribal resources, on both the family and community level, and increasing the level of household dependence on outside support or assistance programs. This change shifted the emphasis in household sustainability from natural resources and self-sufficiency to cash resources, material consumption and dependence:

"Back then people were more independent and had their own gardens and were self supporting but now everything is dependent on money from the government and GA (general assistance) and welfare"

"Before the dam it was just about survival and staying alive and now its about economic growth and having a good job...now people judge their lives on new cars...but before the dam there was no economics....we weren't so material...."

Safety

The loss of land, gardens, natural resources, homes and contexts that promoted traditional Lakota life ways had serious social, spiritual and psychological impacts. Numerous respondents asserted that the dam was responsible for many of the social ills that continue to plague the people of Standing Rock through to the present day:

"I believe it was a social illness that the dam produced...it produced social illnesses on the reservation for the whole Standing Rock nation"

Local residents asserted that Standing Rock was a safer place to live before the dam was constructed. There was less drinking, fewer problems with youth and very little property or other crime. However, with the advent of the dam and the legalization of alcohol on the reservation in the 1950's, drinking increased along with a number of other social problems:

"...and then the government took our houses and flooded our land and we didn't have the gardens anymore or nothin' and a lot of people started drinking after that...and that's just like it always is isn't"

"The dam inundated a lot of land and resources...but it did more than that...it also had a very big social and spiritual affect on us...because it introduced the alcohol problem to the Standing Rock people...it destroyed a lot of things for us including my own family...it was 1953 you know...when they legalized alcohol on the reservation and it kind of coincided with that dam"

"That dam was a very difficult time for my people...that's what brought alcohol to the reservation"

"In the past it was shameful to be a drunk then but now its common"

"we had alcohol then to but it wasn't as bad and it wasn't as violent as it is now...."

Safety was a significant factor to residents as they recollected on their communities 40 years ago, as it was in their preferences for a good community. However, descriptions of life and public safety on Standing Rock before the dam stand in sharp contrast to those for subsequent time periods. Later sections of this chapter will explore these issues for the Standing Rock community today and highlight the lingering influence of the dam and the alcohol problem on the people of Standing Rock.

Emmons County 40 Years Ago

"back then the churches were full, the schools were full and the stores had businesses...and each family that moved away left empty places behind"

The Oahe dam impacted both Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation. However, this impact was much less significant on residents and communities in Emmons County. The population centers in Emmons County are concentrated around a north/south rail line that parallels Highway 85 through the center of the county. As such, major population centers were not impacted by the dam in contrast to Standing Rock Reservation. Although a number of farms and small settlements were inundated as a result of the dam, there were few relocations, and this project did not have the same catastrophic impact on communities in Emmons County. Many residents remembered the construction of the dam, but had few negative recollections relative to its construction. Instead, many of the comments offered by Emmons County residents regarding the dam spoke of the new opportunities for recreation and commerce that it presents to the community as it explores contemporary solutions to economic and social decline. Several people were oblivious to the history of the dam and a

number of community members confused it with Garrison Dam, a Pick Sloan project further north. As one resident proclaimed:

"oh man I don't even know if I remember when the dam was built...what is it Garrison or something...its good for us...fishing....hunting....boating, you know...I just call it the reservoir"

Although the dam did not have a significant impact on Emmons County 40 years ago, there have been other changes that residents were quick to comment on and discuss. The most frequently mentioned factor when discussing Emmons County 40 years ago was Access, followed by Attainment, Engagement and Infrastructure. Despite its relative security from the impacts of Oahe Dam, Emmons County has suffered population, economic and social declines over the last 40 years that have caused many to question the future of their communities.

Access

Over the last 70 years Emmons County has experienced a mass exodus of residents, causing a reduction in its population from 12,000 during the 1930's to less than 5,000 today. Although the impacts of this decline were already being felt 40 years ago, they did not result in a significant loss of services or demographic change in the community. During this time there were more family farms and fewer large farmers, and the relative stability of these farms, and the population they supported, provided the necessary foundation for broader community and commercial services:

"there were a lot more family farms then...a lot of them have...well there still there but probably nobody is living on them or nobody is farming them you know...just empty buildings and land that ain't being used..."

"so there were more farmers then and bigger to and main street was full....there were more farmers and probably actually making some money to"

"and now to get parts you have to drive 40-50 miles....back then you could just drive to town and I think its just gonna get worse"

Along with population decline came a demographic shift that transformed the age distribution toward older residents. In the past Emmons County had a population pyramid more equally composed of both young and old residents. However, as farm mechanization necessitated fewer family members to bring in a crop, many youth began attending college and migrating out of the area for other opportunities and jobs upon entering adulthood:

"we had a population of 450 which is about twice as it is now....and at that time we had that community mindedness and people weren't moving...there were jobs for them and you have to realize that 40 years ago there were three times the farmers and young people stayed on the farm...and when you have the people staying here the grocery store survives and over the last 40 years the migration has been to the cities for jobs and everything else is declining because people are leaving...."

"and one big change from the past is the aging population which then minimizes the volunteer pool that there is so the same people often do the same stuff all the time"

"it was better back then because at that time you had this generation that married after the war, the boomer generation, and they had their families here...there were more kids in town because of that and more activities that involved them and that's one thing that our kids find so distressing about this place there's nobody to play with or do things with and the few classmates that they do have live out in the country 5, 10, 15 miles"

Compounding the impact of population decline on local services were infrastructure and technology improvements that allowed families to travel further and faster for both necessities and consumption items of marginal utility. This took money out of the community and hastened the number of empty store fronts that began appearing on the main streets of Emmons county throughout the last 40 years:

"and automation really had a lot to do with it...the cars...right now people here locally drive to Bismarck to grocery shop...what are we 40 minutes out of Bismarck....well you didn't go to Bismarck in them days maybe once a month now you to two and three times a week....so you take the farming sector...most farmers have their own semis now and truck their own grain...its progress but it isn't progress"

"40 years ago they shopped more at home because they could get their clothes and groceries here....they would come to town Wednesday night and Saturday night and they would buy their groceries here, sell their grain here and money stayed more here...but now people go all over with their cars...and there's nothing for them here anymore"

Access was the most commonly mentioned factor when describing Emmons County 40 years ago. When discussing themes related to this factor, residents remembered a community where they could buy clothes, catch the bus to neighboring communities and pick up parts in town for a piece of machinery. Parents could send their children to schools full of kids or enjoy numerous community gatherings with other families who were passing through the same stages and tribulations of familial, farm and marital life. In the past Emmons County had more family farms, a larger and younger population, more businesses and services geared to both families and elders - it was a stronger, thriving community. However, this community has disappeared in the minds of many, along with the businesses, farms and young families that were once the backbone of community life and viability:

"people like to say it doesn't change here and it really doesn't change cause it goes so slow but so much has changed from back when I was younger that it's totally different...in a lot of ways it's not the same place to live....its dyeing or already dead....pick one (laughing)"

"almost everything is gone"

Attainment

Emmons County residents described a strong farm economy 40 years ago that offered better commodity prices and created a thriving context for family farms. This farm economy supported small family farms that could make a living with less land relative to today. In addition to this, family farms in the past were more diversified and self-sufficient, in that although they may have been monocropping small grains they also had milking cows, chickens and other livestock that were important family resources and sources of non-cash support:

"Agriculture was much better than...everybody was striving, thriving and surviving... and equipment was cheaper back then.....and prices were good and the small guy could make a go of it then you know"

"people weren't farming as big as they are now and then most were milking cows, had chickens or would slaughter pigs and women always had gardens to and they just went from day to day.... and we bought fewer of our things in town but we always supported the grocery store....my mom she couldn't make sugar you know (laughing)"

Declining prices, farm foreclosures, land consolidations, rising equipment costs, increased farm specialization and mechanization have all shaped and transformed the local agricultural sector in Emmons County. The strength of both small farms and the agricultural economy of the past supported the social, commercial and physical infrastructure of the community. Their decline and transformation over the last 40 years are at the core of broader community change issues mentioned above relative to the Access factor.

Engagement

Community members in Emmons County frequently commented on how the nature of social relationships within their communities have changed over the last 40 years. Although they regard their current communities as contexts where

people know each other, trust each other and help each other, they assert that their communities were more tight-knit and closely linked through friendships and shared social activities in the past. Several community members suggested that more people are concerned with material gain and individual attainment, and less are willing to help their neighbor or give of themselves when there is nothing but goodwill to gain:

"when I look back at the people of that era I think they were a happier people...because they were tied to each other...back then my parents would go out on a Wednesday night and Friday night and they were doing things with people their age...now people are 90 years old and staying on their farms until they drop dead...in the past people would stop the plows, in the middle of a good workin' day and visit for an hour standing on the fence line talking with their neighbor and he wasn't trying to cheat him out of his land ya' know...where now they don't stop, they don't even look at each other, they don't even wave at each other because they're all tryin' to...everything is so competitive and it's the fact that no one's satisfied with what they got...."

"there was a lot of adult activities that brought the community together and...people were a little more neighborly back then....and I can remember getting in a car on a Sunday and saying oh lets go for a drive and see so and so and you know unannounced of course you know just drop in on someone and it was no big deal and now if someone dropped in on me I'd just panic...I would never dream of just dropping in on someone but it was kind of neat you know...and it was a nice way to break the monotony"

"and I think people spent more time on people issues...visiting friends and family...there is a lot of greed today and keeping up with the Jones"

"It seems like we've drifted apart..."

In addition to declines in inter-household fellowship, community members also asserted that there are fewer people engaged in civic projects, activities and organizations than 40 years in the past. Community members complained that in the past there was a more diverse group of volunteers who could be counted on for community activities. Some respondents asserted that a significant problem with civic engagement in their community today is the high proportion of aged

residents who feel that they have already made a contribution to the community and can pass on the civic torch to younger community members. Unfortunately, because of population decline, especially among younger residents and families, there are fewer young people to take on these leadership responsibilities, and civic engagement has declined relative to 40 years ago:

"people were more involved in community projects and such like that during community days and stuff there were more people always involved but like nowadays there are just a few select people getting involved in community projects and the older people think they've done their part already"

"see I'm involved in the Lions Club to and look back on the news clippings and there was more people involved....through the Lions Club and through other things and they did more things

Infrastructure

Although there are no significant correlations between either Attainment or Infrastructure and other factors of the good community for this time interval, there are anecdotal links between these factors and issues of Access and Engagement. For example, community members asserted that new seed varieties played an important role in transforming the pace of life and time available for off farm activities, family events, inter-household social or other forms of civic engagement:

"there wasn't as much stress and strife in everyone's life then....and we used to have community ball teams and picnics....get togethers and trail rides...just it was more family orientated then....the fast pace of life and going here and hurrying there and working here and working there and just plain took away from the time with your families and back then I think more families had a chance to take week long trips....and usually between spring works and haying we would take big trips but the development of the faster maturing crop varieties and hay varieties has taken that away...you barely get done seeding and you should be haying and your not done haying and you should be harvesting...it seems that seasons have blended together so much and so fast that it just plain the pace of life itself is just plain fast...back then we had more time for family and neighborhood get togethers"

Additionally, technological innovations changed the scale of agriculture and empowered farmers with the tools to cultivate larger tracts of land in less time and with less labor. As was mentioned, these innovations and increased mechanization encouraged out-migration by younger residents who were no longer needed on the family farm. However, new, larger machinery also increased the economy of scale and loan dependency of young farmers that would eventually lead to increased farm foreclosures during periods of poor commodity prices or adverse weather trends, and intensified land consolidation among the big operators. In these ways, technological innovations had an impact on the Access factor described above and contributed to issues of community decline despite their apparent positive contribution to farming efficiency and productivity:

"...our transportation wasn't as good in the past as it is today...and snow removal and things like that you know...we do that better today....at that time we really were coming out of the horse and buggy stage around here...well some folks anyway....I guess there wasn't too many horses used back then but the machinery was a lot smaller than today...and farmers could get more acquainted with their land....and now they can go over a quarter in an hour when before it took days to get it done....but if we get behind its probably better to have this big machinery because you can get over the same ground in a day that took two weeks to get over in the past...our machinery wasn't quite as efficient as it is now...."

Other infrastructure and technology innovations were reported by respondents including better phone service, information technologies, roads, vehicles and rural emergency medical services to name but a few. Despite population, social and economic decline residents asserted that these innovations have made it easier to live in rural North Dakota:

"There have been a lot of improvements since then....one major thing that happened was that technology made it easier to live here..."

"the phones are better today and the availability of medical help and doctors and that type of services are by far better"

My Community 5 years Ago

In 1994 the Prairie Knights Casino was constructed north of Ft. Yates, ND. This development project was touted as the economic development solution to unemployment, underdevelopment and resource scarcity on the Standing Rock Reservation.

At the same time, communities in Emmons County were experiencing ongoing population decline, business closures, employment shortages and the loss of commercial services that had previously been taken for granted by local residents. Despite these visible signs of decline, communities in Emmons County were poised for the implementation of several development projects and a telecommunications business that would introduce new opportunities and possibilities for the future of their communities.

Native Americans on the Standing Rock reservation most frequently mentioned Safety issues for this period, followed by Attainment, Engagement and Access. Similarly, community members in Emmons County most often mentioned Attainment, followed by Access, Engagement and Infrastructure (Figure 20).

Standing Rock

Safety

Standing Rock residents asserted that 5 years ago their communities were dealing with a number of social problems that threatened the stability and safety of their communities. Consistent with the changes they cited following the dam,

alcohol was again recognized as an ongoing and persistent problem that plagued many reservation families. However, with the opening of Prairie Knights casino,

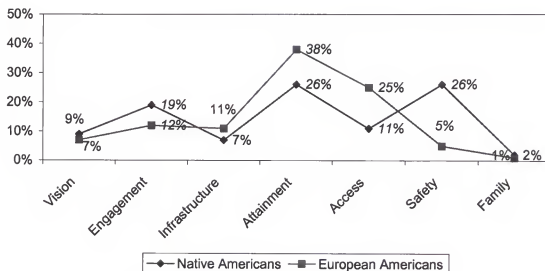


Figure 20. My Community 5 Years Ago

gambling also became an issue that undermined household stability. Although bingo has long been a community past-time, casino gambling provided the context for both drinking and gambling, and gave an individual numerous betting venues and maximum limits that expanded individual and household losses:

"alcoholism and drugs were serious problems then ..."

"the casino does generate money but on the other hand a lot of people have started gambling"

"we have a lot of people who are ill from gambling now"

In addition to alcohol and gambling addictions, crime, bad parenting, vandalism, gang activities, wild dogs and suicides were also frequently mentioned as social problems that contributed to community instability and public safety concerns:

"there were a lot more drunks and junked cars 5 years ago and there was more bad parenting"

"crime and vandalism were bad five years ago...."

"gang activities or suicides started happening more back then...and now we have a lot of that stuff"

"the dogs were a problem then and still are...they chase elders sometimes I see them do that when they are walking down the road...."

Attainment

Unlike the responses for attainment made by community members 40 years in the past, references to this factor 5 years in the past focused on jobs and cash income as opposed to gardens and natural resources. Community members often discussed the positive impact of the casino in providing jobs for community members and increased funding for local governments to provide services and aid to tribal members:

"that's when the casino first opened and a lot of Indians had jobs then because that's what it was geared toward and the goal was to get rid of unemployment with the Native Americans and everybody was given an opportunity to work out there"

"our community was very high in poverty back then...it was almost 75% here on Standing Rock....but now that we have the casino there are a lot of opportunities for community people to work out there and this has given lots of people jobs and success and the opportunity to learn and native peoples learn best by hands-on things...by doing things"

"most of the money that we do get now for the communities it comes from the casino and it really helps out like at Christmas and it helps out a lot of families that are in need and really can't afford things because they're on a fixed income and can't afford things because they're on GA or AFDC"

"one of the positives about the casino was that there is more money now to provide programs for the youth, for the communities....and there is also more employment on the 'Res'...and in these areas the casino has been a positive impact...but the casino money needs to be used in better places"

Despite the positive impact of the Casino on household and community economics, numerous community members asserted that the casino had made little impact on their lives or the conditions in their community. Many stated that it was still very difficult to secure gainful employment on the reservation, regardless of the sector or their skills, both before and after the Casino:

"it was very difficult to get any kind of decent paying job...you had to leave and go somewhere else and few wanted to do that....this is our home....people leave and go on vacation but they can't leave their home for good..."

Engagement

In the years preceding the Casino, community members described growing levels of community engagement and inter-household connections through shared activities and community events. However, with the opening of Prairie Knights casino and the new income generated by this venture for the tribe, many noted that individuals, households, communities and districts shifted their energies from working together to competing for casino funding and payments:

"there wasn't no fighting back then at the local districts and stuff and people were starting to participate more"

"before the casino we had better communication between community members...it seemed like people were starting to get along again like they used to...now people just fight and bicker and complain about what they should be getting"

"there was starting to be more working together before the casino was built...and people were trying hard to start big community gardens and teach kids to help themselves....but now after the casino there is more divisiveness between the haves and have-nots and the more money that casino brings in the more divisive things get"

Although casino funds have added new resources to the community and are being used for supportive services and community development purposes,

these resources have driven a wedge between segments of the community and increased the level of community in-fighting. The civic responsibility and civic engagement that was building prior to the casino has given way to civic entitlement:

"we didn't have the casino yet back then and now everyone is fighting over the money...we need the money but it seems that now that we have the casino all that people want is more money...where's my money...and that's what everybody is asking"

"before the casino there wasn't as much infighting and now there is more infighting over all that money"

Access

Unlike discussions of the Standing Rock community 40 years ago, Access was a significant factor when residents recollected about community conditions 5 years ago. They asserted that access to commercial services was severely limited 5 years ago and that this issue has continued to be a local problem through to today. Despite the economic boost and increased local revenues provided by the casino, new business start-ups, outside of those comprising the Casino complex, have been rare:

"there was and still is a shortage of stores"

Although commercial services were considered lacking 5 years ago, residents described an increase in social services and recreation activities due to Casino funds. These services and activities were especially important relative to youth and elders:

"because of money from the casinos there are more things to do for kids on the reservation and that's good"

"and the casino is good for elders to because it gives the districts more money to help the elders"

While community members were quick to give their opinions about how the Casino impacted the reservation 5 years ago, many also asserted that little had changed in their community during that time. The consensus among Standing Rock residents was that community conditions were poor 5 years ago and that these conditions have continued through to today. Scale rankings for 5 years ago and today support these assertions, as both time intervals were rated the lowest on the community change profile for the Standing Rock community (although conditions from 5 years ago to today showed a mild increase).

"nothings changed....its as bad as it always is....bad then and bad now...maybe worse then but nothing really changed...."

"it is always the same....drunks and no jobs, dogs chasing old people down the street....this place is the worst community to live in and it was 5 years ago to...."

Emmons County

Attainment

Emmons County residents placed an emphasis on the agricultural economy when discussing their community 5 years ago. Although new businesses were emerging, such as Rosenbluth International (a telecommunications driven travel agency), residents rightly recognized the ongoing dependence of their community on the agricultural economy. In discussing the farming economy, community members asserted that prices were low 5 years ago but that they were better than they are today. Furthermore, one farmer noted the increased acreage being planted in CRP(Conservation Reserve Program) today relative to 5 years ago, decreasing the amount of seed and fuel

bought locally and adding to the economic crunch being felt by local providers of agricultural supplies and services:

"this community is totally driven by agriculture...we don't have oil wells and we don't have mines and we don't have other resources....we don't have anything"

"prices were bad but they were better than they are today and people could still make a little bit of money in farming then and the attitude of the people was better because of it, of course there were still the same amount of grumbling farmers...farmers are always gonna grumble...and I'm in that category so I can speak from experience"

"there were more acres seeded five years ago and fewer people had their land in CRP"

In addition to prices and the CRP program, several residents vaguely referred to federal farm programs that they felt had helped to intensify land consolidation and large operators, at the expense of smaller family farms. Although these residents rarely went into detail when asked, their concern for past farm programs and the perception that these programs have played a role in undermining the sustainability of small producers, highlights the frustration and stress many are feeling as a result of the declining agricultural sector.

Community members often placed blame for the state of agriculture on the federal government, urbanites that are unsympathetic to farmers, corporations, globalization, and free trade agreements:

"five years ago we had a different farm program....and it caused guys to double and triple their size overnight and I think if we had a better farm program it could have headed that off....people have to make up their minds what they want and what they want out here...some people don't want to worry about it....but a lot of people would like to preserve a family way of life and family way of agriculture but its all dollar driven now"

Beyond references to the agricultural sector, community members also described losses in non-farm employment and gains through new industries or businesses. Community losses, mixed with descriptions of new enterprises,

emphasizes the economic ambiguity that these communities struggle through in identifying paths toward a better future:

"five years ago we had a cheese plant in here and that closed and that took jobs out of here....."

"the worst thing 5 years ago was the economy but we had some new things come in here like Rosenbluth International that might be changing that"

Access

Access continued to be a major concern for residents when discussing their community 5 years in the past. Increasing land consolidation, the decreasing number of farms and farmers, general population loss and the ongoing issue of an aging population are pressing problems facing communities in Emmons County:

"we were suffering from tremendous population loss and loss of farms and an aging population"

"there were more farms back 5 years ago....looking at places around me here...there are 8 or 9 sitting empty now....all gone in the last 10-15 years...and it gets worse every year...we are losing more farms every year"

"5 years ago there were more youth in the community then there are now"

Continued population loss from 40 years in the past through to 5 years ago caused changes in commercial and social services. Residents described the loss of commercial services such as stores and specialty medical services. Additionally, the aging population of Emmons County was beginning to dramatically alter the focus of local activities and services, as more aged farmers and / or their wives moved into town, vacating their farms and occupying homes left empty by younger families or other elder community members:

"back then we had two grocery stores and now we only have one"

"we've lost a few businesses since then on our main street...we lost Wards, and our eye clinic...that guy was traveling out of Bismarck to see us and now he doesn't come anymore and we lost our clothing store"

"there was nothing for young people then because everything was for older people and you know that is just getting worse....everything was like...well what do the folks need...the older folks...and that didn't change none since back then"

Despite declining access to commercial and other services driven by population loss, and demographic shifts impacting community life, residents of Emmons County asserted that overall, community life had improved since 5 years ago. Although the struggling farm sector offered little hope for reversing community declines, there was a growing confidence and community spirit for new ventures that offered hope and a new direction:

"because 5 years ago we didn't see the positive things that we do now...you know businesses are talking about coming in and back then we were even worried about our hospital closing....and that would have been bad and that isn't going to happen....and 5 years ago no one was talking about new businesses on the highway, a rec center in town or the train coming back to Linton...."

Engagement

Although residents asserted that their communities were more tight-knit and civically engaged 40 years in the past, Engagement remained a significant factor when describing their communities 5 years ago. Clearly, local residents see themselves and their fellow community members as incredible assets that have remained through time despite numerous community changes:

"the things that were good five years ago are still good today....like the people....the people here are always number one... "

As was mentioned relative to other factors, new community development projects were beginning to charge the community with enthusiasm and renewed hope for civic revival. Hope for new schools, new businesses, and new residents

were influences that served to counter the wave of complacency and skepticism that had been growing in the community for a number of years:

"there was more complacency 5 years ago and promises for the new school and other things was a real sparkplug for the whole community, it started turning their attitudes around"

Infrastructure

In contrast to infrastructure themes mentioned for 40 years ago, residents most often discussed new buildings that were being planned 5 years ago or were constructed since 5 years ago. These themes referred more to the physical development of towns and schools as opposed to the technological innovations that dominated discussions regarding community life 40 years in the past:

"we built the school since then and that has added a lot to our community....before that there wasn't nothing new here....nothing for us to build on and grow from...."

Similar to residents on Standing Rock Reservation, community members in Emmons county asserted that their communities had remained relatively unchanged from 5 years ago. Although a number of community projects came to fruition during this research, the following comments suggest that some community members feel that there has been little real community change despite these development projects.

"everything is pretty much the same as it is now....but the post office did move from one side of the street to another (laughing)"

"it's a small community....it don't change much...."

My Community Today: Felt Needs

Living conditions on Standing Rock Reservation continue to be among the poorest on the Northern Plains. Although Prairie Knights Casino was seen as a

possible solution to resource scarcity and many of the social problems facing the reservation (through increased funding to social services), it has not altered living conditions as local residents had hoped it would.

In contrast, enthusiasm and energy for community change run high in Emmons County despite disappointing declines in the local farm economy and population. However, it remains to be seen if communities in Emmons County have identified realistic development priorities that match the needs and assets of their communities.

Standing Rock residents most often mentioned Safety concerns when describing their community today, followed by Engagement, Access, Attainment and Infrastructure (Figure 21). Similarly, though facing different community challenges, community members in Emmons County stressed Attainment, followed by Engagement, Access and Infrastructure.

Standing Rock

Safety

Safety concerns continued to be an important QOL factor for Native Americans. Alcoholism and other forms of drug abuse, along with bad parenting, and sexual and physical abuse were cited as problems on the Standing Rock Reservation. When describing current social problems and public safety concerns Standing Rock residents emphasized the impact these issues have had on youth. Residents asserted that an environment of addictions and abuse has adversely influenced Standing Rock youth and caused them to fall into a pattern of depression, abuse, violent behavior through gangs, addictions, hopelessness

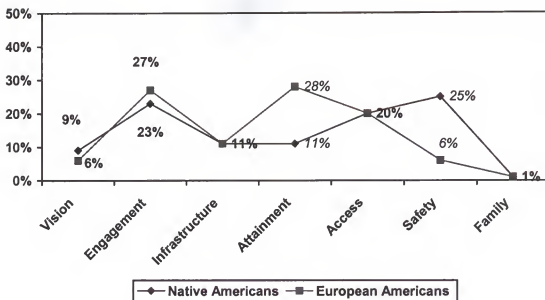


Figure 21. My Community Today

and suicide, that has become an all too familiar cycle for families on the reservation:

"and the worst kind of place I can think of would be where you have bars and where the people are spending their money at bars and there would be a lot of alcohol related accidents and there would be no concern for children...that would be an alcohol community like we have here"

"we need to focus on our children because a lot of them are neglected and a lot of them are hooked on huffing and alcohol and drugs"

"we have all these little wannabes....you know the ones who get together and wannabe gangsters and you know and there needs to be less alcohol and drugs"

"we have it all here...I lived in Oakland and....we have it all you know...alcoholism, gangs and drugs and things that people will go to get the cash so they can participate in those kinds of vices"

"our children are impacted by alcohol and drug abuse and physical abuse and sexual abuse right now and I believe that a lot of violence comes out of that"

"there is suicide watch on 350 kids right now on Standing Rock and nothing is going to help these kids...no counseling or anything....no place for them kids to go when they need help....there was a kid in Ft. Yates who was on watch but no one helped him and he killed himself and that ain't right...."

These addictions fuel other types of crime in the community. Unlike most rural areas in the Dakotas, where property crime is almost unheard of, reservation residents described instances of theft and vandalism that would most often be associated with high crime urban areas. Compounding these issues is a lack of police officers and policing coverage throughout the reservation:

"this is where I grew up right here on this corner....with my grandma...she lived here until she was 95...and we never had to lock our doors or nothin'...but today we were sitting right here and someone come in and stole her bike right out of the garage while we were in here....so there is no respect for property or nothin' like that anymore"

"people who are beaten up come to my door looking for law enforcement because there ain't enough and I'm a security guard at the casino so they figure that I can help I guess"

Addictions and the lack of affordable or available housing contribute to a homeless problem on the reservation. Although many homeless find temporary shelter with relatives, numerous others are without such accommodations throughout the winter, and during this research there were several accounts in local newspapers of homeless men who had died from exposure to the elements.

"there are a lot of homeless men in Bear Soldier"

Finally, the social problems and living conditions on the reservation contribute to a widespread depression that feeds addictions, and is also fed by addictions, creating an unhealthy synergy. The ongoing cycle of these problems for reservation communities has taken a terrible toll on both youth and adults, and changing these circumstances is a priority among residents hoping to make their community a better and safer place to live:

"there is mass depression here....and drugs and alcohol"

Engagement

The Engagement issues mentioned for 5 years ago on the reservation have persisted through to today. Although fewer residents specifically mentioned the casino, several did note that the ongoing divisiveness in the community was related to resource allocation disputes relative to casino funds. Beyond conflicts surrounding these funds, residents also described a tribal political system that fails to work for the people and discourages engagement:

"the educated people who come back they do sometimes change things...but its hard to get them in office because of the large families controlling local districts....we need the qualified people to get the jobs...."

"tribal government is in shambles....it's the haves and the have nots...if you're a have not you suffer....in every community the local district government is in shambles....they are a joke....they line their pockets and you get what's left"

Borrowing from a popular television soap opera, residents joke about the politics and problems of Standing Rock government and community life by saying:

"you know...like we say around here...as the rock spins"

As with 40 years and 5 years in the past residents expressed the importance of a community that works together and helps each other. Although Standing Rock residents have many complaints about federal government policies, the dam and other outside issues and forces that have shaped them and their communities, they most often mentioned themselves as their own biggest enemy. There is a sense of urgency for creating stronger inter-household relationships, as well as, intra and inter-community engagement on the

reservation. Residents recognize that unless they are able to create a context of trust, inter-household communication and shared action, the problems in their community will persist:

"we're too busy custerling each other....we're our own biggest enemy...what we need to do is come together and solve problems together"

"we need to understand that we have problems and that we need to address them not only as individuals but also in a collective sense"

"we've become to wasichu (white) and that hurts us and we're not getting along with other people...and you can't do anything if you don't get along with your neighbor....you have to respect others....and we have to learn to communicate with each other so we can get along...everything else doesn't mean nothin'..."

Although it is well recognized that the lack of civic engagement on the reservation is a serious problem, many assert that there are those working hard to create a context for collective action and positive community change. These efforts to engage local residents in their communities provide hope to those who look toward the future with optimism:

"I'm part of a community working toward positive things....we have a program that is trying to curb some of the problems of the young people you know...huffing and drinking...and our program is just a part of the job...the biggest part is the community involvement and the involvement of the parents and grandparents."

Access

When describing issues of Access in their communities today, Standing Rock residents stressed the importance of supportive services for youth and the elderly. Job training and summer work programs, treatment facilities and prevention programs, recreational opportunities and facilities, cultural and language programs, care for the elderly and inter-generational linkages were all highlighted as important community services that should be developed, or if already in existence, continued and supported:

"we need something for the kids to do like other kids have....I think our reservation kids miss out on a lot of that"

"we need more treatment facilities for youth and adults...and prevention programs for alcohol and drugs"

"there are no recreational facilities other than bars and bars aren't good places to go for recreation and that is no rec facility for youth or adults...we need that..."

"....we still have all the kids out after dark and they should be inside and we have all these little ones who are so lost and they wanna be in the gang stuff and we're lacking activities for those kids...you know activities that will show them how to be a man and how to be a women...there's not enough grandpas and grandmas and moms and dads that really give a hoot....you know....you as a daughter need to learn this and you as a man need to learn how to do this and we don't have that anymore....we used to though...."

"we have a lot of kids that are participating now than ever....in small jobs or little jobs they get like youth summer jobs and we need more of that"

"right now mostly the youth and the way they abuse drugs and alcohol...mostly the youth and we need to get them treatment or something because...we need to get them away from their parents so they understand what alcohol does to them and stuff...and it would probably improve if they got a building for them here and a program here or something like basketball camp...just something for the youth to do"

"we need to make the language stronger....and help young people know and understand the language so with that the community will be better"

"we need better juvenile and social services...and need to involve the elderly in the school system to teach culture and traditions....we need a big brother and big sister program because the BIA doesn't care and there's not enough of them around..."

"there is no care for the elderly...they should be used"

Beyond service provision for youth and the elderly, community members also asserted that job training and parenting classes, as well as, addiction services and treatment facilities for other adult residents were very important. Although residents clearly articulate the need and importance for addiction services and treatment facilities, several also asserted that because addictions

on the reservation were so widespread and entrenched it is an almost impossible task to treat everyone or eliminate the problem:

"we need workshops and training sessions for if you don't know how to do something then someone who does can show them how to do it so they can go and get a job...there are a lot of ways to improve a community like that"

"we need parenting programs"

"we need alcohol and drug prevention but that is a long-shot on the reservation...the problem is so big and been here so long I think sometimes it's too much to stop"

"if you built a treatment facility....you'd need a bed for every person on the res...so...it's a big problem here isn't"

Like their counterparts in Emmons County, residents on the Standing Rock Reservation complained about the lack of commercial services in their community. Residents asserted that they want what other communities have, they want access to the things that most other people and communities in the United States take for granted:

"we need more businesses and services here...like a Laundromat or coffee shop you know the kinds of things that other places have..."

Finally, the reservation covers a land area larger than some U.S. states. Most of the people live in small towns and residential clusters that are separated by long distances. The population density for this region is lower than that reported for non-town areas in Emmons County, and is well below one person per square mile. Access to social services thus becomes equally important to availability of social services, especially when one considers that there is currently no public transportation system on the reservation and few people have cars. Additionally, many of the tribal and federal service programs are

concentrated in the agency town of Ft. Yates, which is not centrally located, compounding access issues:

"all the services are up in Ft. Yates and we need them spread out some...its hard to get up there for people who don't have cars and it's just hard to get up there all over you know"

Attainment

Unemployment is a serious problem on the reservation and will begin to attract even more attention over the next 10 years as *welfare to work* reforms are implemented throughout the area. Many complained that when they are taken off federal assistance programs they will not be able to replace these resources because they will not move and there are no jobs locally. Although several Standing Rock residents described a changing economic environment in which people were better off and driving nicer cars, the level of unemployment and underemployment on the reservation continues to keep people in a state of dependency and poverty:

"and welfare to work is a joke...I'm not leaving the 'Res'... this is where my family is you know and there's no jobs here for anybody....me and my family will just have less and I think poverty around the 'Res' will be worse for everyone"

"there's no employment today...."

"there has been a change economically since I've been here...we're better off and more people are driving new cars"

"we want self-sufficiency but we rely on the government too much"

As was mentioned for Standing Rock 5 years in the past, many residents considered Prairie Knights Casino to be the magic bullet that would solve the local unemployment problem. However, community members asserted that casino jobs did not pay a living wage and that the best jobs have increasingly

gone to non-Indians, some of whom travel from off the reservation to work at Prairie Knights. Additionally, several described casino working conditions that increased Native American employee turnover:

"our community is missing housing, jobs, income and right now even the people who do have jobs at the casino are sitting at minimum wage and they can't live on that no they can't do it especially if they have a family....we need so much....activities, communication, transportation....a lot of people don't have vehicles...."

"the casino should be fully run by the tribe and jobs should go exclusively to tribal members...there are a lot of whites now who come to the reservation to work at that casino and they're getting all the good jobs"

"the casino...it's a place to work but to structured toward the white environment that Indians don't last working out there"

Standing Rock residents asserted that their schools are better than they once were and that Sitting Bull College is an asset to the reservation. However, they indicated that there needed to be four year and graduate degrees offered at this college so that local residents could earn these degrees without leaving the reservation. Additionally, several stated that it was important to create business incubators, entrepreneurial development funds and training in business development or management for those interested in starting new businesses on the reservation. One resident encouraged the tribe to link successful Indian business owners with community members who were interested in starting their own business so that they could learn how these Native entrepreneurs made their businesses profitable and sustainable:

"education is better here in the high schools and the college is a good thing for the people of Standing Rock"

"education is better here in the high schools and the college is a good thing for the people of Standing Rock"

"the college here needs to be up-scaled so you can get a four year degree and MA on the 'Res'"

"we need businesses run by our own people and we need more local businesses"

"we have no infrastructure for economic development....and no financing for Indian entrepreneurs.....and forget about the economic development experts, what we need to do is talk with Indian business people who have gone through it...."

Infrastructure

Although there are numerous infrastructure issues that reservation communities must confront, such as sub-standard roads, inadequate sewer and water services, poor transportation and low telephone penetration; housing and sanitation are the two most pressing infrastructure concerns mentioned by local residents. Residents described a housing shortage on the reservation that results in overcrowded conditions and homelessness. Furthermore, much of the existing housing is sub-standard and older homes are in desperate need of repair or retrofitting. Beyond housing, sanitation was also a concern to local residents. Trash and miscellaneous debris (from old tires to whole cars) litter many of the towns, ditches along highways and other open spaces. Additionally, community dumpsters are often overfilled and trash pick-up by tribal government infrequent, creating both an eye sore and public health risk.

"there's no housing....there's a lot of homeless people here....I know about three families who are over age and still staying with their families you know...and the kids would like to get out and about"

"a lot of people on the 'Res' need their housing fixed up...it was not built good a lot of times and people don't have the money to fix them up..."

"sanitation department needs to be better.....we need to use the dumpsters....garbage is everywhere and its cluttering our environment"

"the trash is a real problem here"

Despite the economic improvements generated from casino income, residents of the Standing Rock reservation continue to struggle with many of the same issues that have plagued their communities since Oahe dam was constructed. Although residents rated their community today higher than their community 5 years in the past, many asserted that their community today is the worst possible community in which they could imagine living:

"and the worst kind of community that I can think of is the community we have today....no jobs....everybody sitting around, depressed, drinking....no housing....no activities...that has a lot of effect on the community....it's just hell to live in and miserable...like it is here today"

Emmons County

Attainment

The Attainment factor continued to be a significant concern for community members in Emmons County. Many asserted that crop and cattle prices have declined since 5 years ago. Residents were quick to express frustration with the depressed farm economy, the stress this puts on their communities and the problems it has caused for local families:

"we need better prices for our cattle and our grain....I feel that our free trade system kind of free traded agriculture down the poop-shoot and other industries are benefiting from the free trade more than the agricultural community"

".....it's bad for the farmers because there are no prices for the farmers no cattle prices and no wheat prices they can't hardly make it any more that's the bad thing....in order to break even the wheat should be \$10 a bushel and its at 2 something right now.....so they can't even buy machinery and something needs to be done...if the farmer doesn't have anything we don't having anything and if the farmers don't have the prices they don't have the money to buy things and pay their bills....it all works hand in hand"

"I don't need to get rich...but son of a biscuit...a fella would like to get paid"

Despite its declines, agriculture continues to dominate the local economic base. The current farm crisis thus depresses the overall economy of the county and further limits what was already an underdeveloped job market. Additionally, low salaries and wages further diminish the appeal of local jobs even if they were more readily available. These factors contribute to out-migration, especially among youth who leave for college, find new opportunities and choose not to return:

"the availability of jobs is bad here and agriculture is in the hurt bag today and it is an agriculture driven county and ag is not strong....we're agriculture driven 100%....and bad farm economics affects this community"

"The thing that is bad here is the work....the pay scale...economic opportunities are not great in the least and that is probably the worst thing here...and we've got to find a way to keep the kids around because they go to school and see that there's not much for them back home and then they leave and then rural United States kind of dies"

The above issues have heightened the need for a more diversified economy. Although many are resistant to alter the traditional economic relationships between town and farm, there is a rising recognition that small towns on the Northern Plains cannot be sustained through singular dependence on a farm economy that shows little hope of long-term turnaround given the increasing amount of land consolidation and falling prices. Residents suggested several interesting options for economic renewal such as retirement homes, information technology businesses, seasonal manufacturing, tire recycling and niche agriculture e.g. organic farming, non-traditional crops etc. Successful new ventures such as Rosenbluth international suggest that these alternative industries could be viable solutions to the economic crisis facing Emmons County.

"we need more jobs here and a more diversified economy...we can't just rely on the farm economy"

"and now we have Rosenbluth International....which is a big plus to our community - it's a travel agency and they employ well over 200 people I think it is 240 people and not just our community its people from other counties and people from other towns it's a very big office and its great to have them here.....and the city and county work together and they're trying to bring in another business a tire recycling business and we're hoping that it goes through because it will employ people to...and Rosenbluth brought new people into the community....."

Although Attainment was the most significant factor when residents described their communities today, several asserted that there are other reasons outside of economics and money for living in Emmons County. Community members are willfully paying an opportunity cost in lost income to stay in a community that supports a style of life they value.

"it's a county that has some poverty....its not driven so much by greed and money because a lot of people here know they are never gonna become rich and I think a lot of them have accepted that, I know I'm one of them...."

Engagement

Civic responsibility and inter-household relationships continue to be viewed as local assets by community members. In Emmons County, community members can count on their neighbors for support and turn to them in times of need. It is a close-knit community where everybody knows each other and trust among neighbors is taken for granted:

"I feel that I can go to anyone of my neighbors around here and ya' know much the same as you would do to your pastor or minister or priest to kinda unloadin' your burdens and they at least pretty much understand the situation because 85% of them are in the same situation as I am as far as economics and grain prices and cattle prices and so on....that's just plain that's the way it is....."

"this is a tight knit community....you know everybody and everybody knows each other"

"I can depend on my neighbors....basically in our vicinity here for the most part guys who have cattle and stuff in the spring of the year we generally end up working cattle together and exchanging help and that kind of thing"

"people are pretty close you know...if your neighbors don't see you for a couple of days they'll come over and knock on your door to see if you're ok...I've had a couple of times where I've had to break into houses because the neighbors hadn't seen the people to make sure they are ok...because they were older"

However, for some community members there is an underlying current of hostility and divisiveness that lies just below the communal veneer of Emmons County. Residents asserted that some farmers are only interested in their own land accumulation and growth. They don't share labor; they hire labor. They don't care about the neighbor who is going broke because they see it as an opportunity. This causes rifts between big operators and small operators:

"but there are people here who would stab you in the back for an acre"

"We're not quite as close knit in this community as others are in other areas...I can say that openly...Maybe we're more independent here...this area did traditionally have the bigger farms...I don't know what it is...it's like I got more land than you do ya' know...that's my feeling...and sometimes I think these big operators are against the little guys...maybe out to get them...."

Other divisions are drawn between county residents along community lines. Several community members stated that there is a high degree of competitiveness between the communities in Emmons County. From High School basketball games to community projects and economic development, communities in the county often work alone rather than together in an effort to do better than the town just down the road:

"there is a lot of competitiveness between the communities....they have it out for each other and you can see it at the basketball games sometimes....just competitive"

"it would be helpful if we had more unity among people with leadership potential ...we have a lot of division among these people here....a lot of them provide

negative leadership, they like to tear down what other people do rather than lift up other people or celebrate accomplishments....we have some disunity in that regard - and I suppose that's true in every community but here where you're trying to survive it would be helpful to have more unity...."

Additionally, there is a *pro-change* versus *no change* rift that often pits long-time residents against newcomers and old timers against young leaders. Residents assert that older people are reluctant to change and that this is due in part to their stubborn German nature. While older residents struggle with why things need to be changed if it has been good enough for them and others over the last 40 years.

"People are mostly stuck in their ways because they're older people to... I mean everybody's older they're not as open minded"

"we have a lack of initiative to do better for one thing...complacency....lack of competitiveness and the old German attitude that things were good enough for me and so they should be alright for my children and that is in south central North Dakota here where it is German that attitude prevails a lot....why improve it because look at me I got by and what was good enough for me should be good enough for the kids

Despite these challenges to community cohesiveness and civic health, Emmons County remains a strong, tightly knit context, where residents care about their neighbors and the direction of their community. Although demographic changes have weakened the civic infrastructures of Emmons County, residents are working together to find new opportunities for civic engagement and encourage broad citizen participation in collectively building a strong community:

"we've become a little bit of a retirement community and I think a lot of communities our size have but we still have enough people around who are still looking to make our community better and there is quite a bit of citizen participation here and sometimes you have to pry to get it out but there are people who will do things""

Access

Population loss continues to be a problem for Emmons County. The declining farm economy is forcing many farmers out of business. Consequently, larger farmers are consolidating much of the land base left by the smaller operators. As the number of farms decrease, communities built on an agricultural economy also lose population in an economic domino effect that impacts the entire county. Solutions for this can be found in economic diversification, as has been noted, but finding the right industry that will appeal to agriculturists making the transition from farming to wage labor will be a difficult challenge in communities attempting to both attract new residents and retain farmers going through these transitions:

"The way prices are there are lot of farms that are gonna go quit or go broke seems like there are a few that want to get so big they grab land away from the little guy...there are three of them right around here that want to farm the whole damn county..."

"you know I've lived around here for 60 some years and look around and there's like back there there's a vacant farm in that grove of trees and there's a vacant one out over there and I can look around here and I can count probably a dozen farms that aren't here anymore and I'd like to see somebody own some of these farms....not necessarily all of them but I'd like to see some kind of industry and more people....and like you have Rosenbluth in Linton and it gives a lot of people jobs.... like the wives get jobs but still it doesn't seem like it made a dent, we still have an exodus going on...so it would have to be something that would involve the men as well as the women... see the women... the only reason I think that they are workin' is because the husband is trying to make it on the farm and their supplementing the income by working at Rosenbluth...if it were some industry where both men and women could work that would be better...."

Emmons County residents again expressed their concern for the aging population that increasingly comprises their community. Communities in Emmons County are struggling to retain young families while providing services for aging residents who are moving off the farm and into town. As farms empty

and young families leave the county, the small towns of Emmons County are increasingly becoming retirement communities filled with aging residents who are reluctant to support change and struggle with a host of independent living issues as they advance in age. Although these can be supportive contexts for aging citizens, many of the younger residents feel that the pace of life is slow and too often defined by the needs of a growing elderly population *vis a vis* a declining youth population:

"people could be fixing up older homes or maybe doing an apartment complex somewhere around here....I would like to see younger people moving back into town....into the community....the average age I believe in his community is probably 62....and that's old and it would be nice to kind of have younger groups to move in"

"its top heavy with elderly people - most of the homes are occupied by single individuals or if it is a couple it is not a matched couple it is a brother and a sister - one looking after the other because of some infirmity and so it makes the community skewed.....its like living in a retirement community without deliberately planning to do that like you would in Sun City, AZ....."

"it's really slow, everybody's leaving....and you see what the hell people are doing by reading the obituaries in the local paper (laughing)"

"if you move to town they eventually put you in the nursing home...oh yeah (laughing and looking to his wife) town and the nursing home are the same thing (laughing)"

If there is a solution to community decline in Emmons County, residents assert that they should build these proposed solutions on realistic hopes and accurate assessments of what they can offer to attract new residents or retain those who are exploring relocation. Even with new industry or handful of new jobs, communities will face many challenges in providing the types of services desired by those who they hope to attract as new residents. The survival of communities in Emmons County will depend on their ability to balance community development across new industries, businesses, and services that

are appropriate for their community scale, assets and capacities while being attractive to potential new residents:

"I'm a real strong believer that rural communities have to sort of redefine themselves because things have changed and if your going to survive you know in a healthy way and are actively seeking to survive you have to know what's gonna work here and what's not....and I don't think we've done a very good job of assessing our strengths and weaknesses....we need to dream a little bit.....but there are some people who go to far they think that Wal-Mart is going to come here and well I did drugs in college but I never did anything that would make me think that Wal-Mart was going to come to Linton, ND...so you have people who range from people who are real negative to those who are unrealistically optimistic....we need realistic hope".

"we have a weak economy and we don't have the tax base to really support the kinds of things that many people want today...there's an effort to turn those things around....but I think we're really on the edge of either surviving or not surviving"

Community members indicated that they would like to see more social activities and recreation opportunities for both youth and adults. Residents also asserted that they often have to travel long distances to take advantage of services because there is little variety in Emmons County. As was mentioned for 40 and 5 years ago, community members are increasingly driving to larger population centers, such as Bismarck, ND, to buy clothes, groceries and access entertainment or other recreational activities. Again, this economic leakage has the overall effect of compounding out-migration by further reducing the number of people who utilize local services and businesses:

"...there's not much for social activity anymore it used to be we used to have a bowling alley...that burnt down... "

"They need more stuff for the kids to do for recreation and stuff at night instead of just driving around or whatever - there's no movie theatre within 50 miles so that makes a difference...the sports and everything is good but that is about all they have to do"

"we really need a variety of businesses so that you don't need to drive someplace whenever you need something...."

"everything is a long ways away - if we need something we drive to Bismarck"

Although community members recognize that they must develop innovative approaches for retaining existing community members and recruiting new residents, they are ambiguous about these changes. Some of the communities in Emmons County are forward thinking and capitalizing on new infrastructure improvements and development projects that they hope will provide their communities with a spark of new residents and energy. However, there are others in the county who are reluctant to welcome newcomers with such open arms and prefer to seek their own solutions in the neighbors and institutions that have long defined their communities:

"for the most part we're community mindedyou know there are little quirks here and there but....we just put up a new community high school so umm there is a lot of positive attitude toward our school...one thing that is positive here is our locationwe are along a major highway and we're not far from Bismarck so we have a lot of commuter to and from work and it would be a great asset if we could provide housing because we would have a lot more families moving in and they would commute..."

"I've always said that one thing about our hot dry summers and extremely cold winters.... my philosophy has always been that it keeps out the riff raff...what more could you ask for...we don't need a lot of them coming in here and changing things you know....this is how we like it"

Infrastructure

In the northern portion of Emmons County, community members are pinning their hopes for a better future to a new school that they think will attract families from Bismarck, ND. They foresee a group of residents who will live in Emmons County and send their kids to the new school, but who will commute to Bismarck for work. However, their ambition to become a bedroom community for

Bismarck are facing numerous obstacles, most significant among these is the lack of housing:

"one problem here is in housing - if we could supply the houses families would move here send there kids to school here and not work here necessarily"

"we need housing...it's the biggest thing we need for the community.... there are people who would move in but there is no place for them to move into and if you could bring in something that would create jobs.... that would help a lot because it would start bringing the tax base up and more revenue would come in for some improvements"

It may seem counter-intuitive that communities suffering population decline would also have a housing shortage. However, as homes in town empty, retired farmers and / or their wives move into them for the supportive services that a town context can provide. As such, there are numerous homes in the countryside that stand empty but few in the surrounding towns. As was mentioned, this has also served to concentrate older residents in the towns of Emmons County, creating as some have quipped, unintentional retirement communities.

Although many community members are confident that Emmons County will survive and thrive through this farm crisis and beyond, others are less assured that this will be the case. Numerous residents asserted that their community was already "dead or on the verge of dying", while one person even stated that if something isn't done soon Emmons County will be as bad as the Standing Rock reservation across the river. An interesting assertion given the comparison of these two communities in this study:

"and if we don't do something this place is going to be like...well I'd sort of compare it to the reservation....if we don't change things then it might be like what I've seen at like Ft. Yates on the reservation where you have drinking and bad housing and no-one has a job, and there's unemployment and the schools

are bad and you know like that but I suppose we'd leave before it got that bad (laughing)"

My Community in the Future: Anticipatory Needs

Emmons County and Standing Rock residents both asserted that it was difficult to describe what their communities might be like in the future. However, they were candid about existing problems that need to be resolved in order to make their community a better place to live 5 years into the future.

Standing Rock residents most often mentioned Attainment concerns when describing their community in the future, followed by Vision, Engagement, and Access (Figure 22). Similarly, community members in Emmons County stressed Attainment, followed by Access, Engagement and Infrastructure.

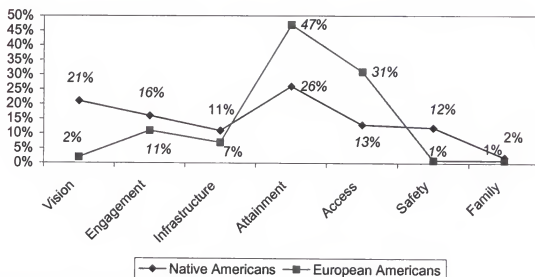


Table 22. My Community in the Future

Standing Rock

Attainment

Standing Rock residents most frequently mentioned the Attainment factor when describing the issues that must be addressed in order to improve their

communities over the next 5 years. Residents stressed the importance of more job opportunities and youth work programs. Many community members suggested that JTAC (Joint Tribal Advisory Committee) monies should be used to promote economic development, provide jobs and train youth and other adults needing employment skills. JTAC monies are the result of a settlement paid to all tribes who lost land as part of the Pick-Sloan Plan. Native landowners were not paid fair market value when the government annexed their land for the construction of dams along the Missouri. Although this money is owed to individual landowners and tribes, settlement monies are paid JTAC who will hold the money in trust and distribute the interest on this money in yearly payments to each tribe. The money can then be used at each tribe's discretion.

"JTAC money should be used to hire youth and put them to work or put into helping them find jobs or make something of themselves"

"there needs to be more jobs"

"I think we'll see with the JTAC money more people beginning to start their own businesses and we'll get better schooling systems and better educated people...and our children will start to see hope and that we have good things here because they'll see positive things"

Vision

Although Vision has consistently been a factor more important to Native Americans relative to European Americans, it was not a significant factor in describing life on Standing Rock in the present, 5 years ago or 40 years ago. However, Standing Rock residents frequently mentioned Vision when discussing their community 5 years into the future. Community members stress the importance of government leaders and cultural traditions for providing the

guidance and vision for making their communities a better place to live in the future:

"Because we have JTAC money coming in and I hope the people become visionary and make things better.....we will need good leaders to do this who are visionary and can set the path for us to follow or set the course for us to follow.....and who will commit themselves to helping others and not just their relatives....."

Residents asserted that tribal council members and district officers must listen to the people and give their voices genuine concern and consideration when planning for the future in order to be good leaders. This is especially important on Standing Rock where community members are increasingly feeling alienated from local government and tribal decision-making because of widely a held perception that council members and district officers are not responsive to the community, but rather, have taken office to serve themselves and the needs of their relatives. As was mentioned in one of the introductory chapters, this environment can promote civic disengagement, and several community members asserted that Standing Rock residents have withdrawn from civic activities for this very reason:

"leaders need to be more responsive to the people and the people need to be given the opportunity to voice their concerns to their representatives through forums or something"

"what we need is good leadership....because of the bad leadership people have bad attitudes, they figure I won't go to that meeting or I won't go to that gathering because we never get nothin' done anyhow...the leaders are gonna get away with what they've been getting away with for all these years...that's what happens here...and you can't get no cooperation out of the people because that's the mentality...the leaders are gonna do whatever they're gonna do...spend the money however they're gonna spend it...they do what they want to do..."

Tribal council reforms and increased government accountability were frequently mentioned as important components for positive community change

on the Standing Rock Reservation. However, there is skepticism that such accountability can ever be achieved. Many residents feel that tribal government has become a corrupt institution that leaders use to line their own pockets. Additionally, it is widely felt that local leaders also mismanage tribal funds that could be used for community improvement purposes. Both assertions raise serious accountability concerns and must be addressed if community members are to place their trust in tribal government and local leaders. This will be essential in efforts to develop a group vision for improving the Standing Rock community:

"you know last year the tribe was given \$100,000 to help families whose kids committed suicide...but the tribe spent it on baseball and basketball tournaments and not on the families.... and I asked them you know where the hell the money went and I needed \$5,000 for my kid to go through counseling to deal with what happened but the tribe said no and later I found out that there was \$33,000 unaccounted for and I asked them about this and the guy said 'why do you care so much anyway' and I said 'fuck you...you used my kid as a statistic to get this money and then you don't even use it to help the families like us who were hurt by it'"

"the problem with the tribal council is that the attitude is get in and get what I can while I'm there....they tell you all these things....like you'll see all that right here it's competition time again....election time and they're going around telling all their lies again...there is a lot of stealing and cheating going on there"

Culture and tradition are also important components of the Vision factor that residents often articulated in discussing positive community change. Numerous residents asserted that the "*Lakota adapt so well that we forget who we are*". In other words, many people on the reservation no longer know their culture or practice their traditions, as one person put it "we've been wasichuized" (wasichu is the word for White person). However, many residents see a reawakening of Lakota / Dakota culture and traditions as necessary for positive

community change. They assert that this will resolve community problems such as alcoholism and poor leadership, among others.

"we need to get back to our traditional ways and things will get better"

"more people will sober up because of cultural things and traditions brought home by kids...the school system can be the foundation for positive change"

"if people became more traditional and learn the language you would see things change because people would be seeing things with their heart with their spirit...and once people do this they'll turn around and get sober naturally...almost automatically....and say what can I offer my community...and this would also help tribal government because our leaders would be guided by their heart like they once were"

Engagement

A number of residents asserted that a key ingredient for improving civic engagement on the reservation will be reducing the level of chemical addictions among community members. When people are addicted they care less about their community and more about satisfying their addiction. Additionally, sober people and positive mentors are important components for changing the cycle of addiction and abuse that has been present on Standing Rock for several generations. By connecting youth to sober mentors who can work with them on individual and community development issues, they will be exposed to how they can live a safer, healthier life, and contribute to their community. This type of social and mentor support for youth is especially important in a context like Standing Rock where teen suicide is well above the national average and depression very common.

"we need sober people if its gonna change and if people are gonna do things in the community because people who use drugs don't give a damn about nothin"

"Because there is a lot more awareness for our problems now and there's a lot more teaching going on about the drugs and alcohol and all the negative things

that are going on and there's a lot more people who see this and a lot more people who are sobering up and so I think there is a better chance for our children to make it out of here when they can be helped by sober people who want to help them...."

"we need to encourage youth to stay in school and help them see that they can do good things and change their communities"

"its better to build children than to rebuild an adult"

Many residents expressed confidence that their community will be better in 5 years because there is a growing number of people who are beginning to do positive things in their communities and encouraging others to do the same.

These positive attitudes will be important to maintain and necessary for overcoming the depression, hopelessness, addictions, dependency and lack of empowerment that has come to dominate community and self efficacy conceptions on the reservation:

"people are beginning to change and that will keep going and they will be more aware of what's going on in the community and involved in things"

"it will be better because there's a lot of people I know in the community who are confident and they're working for the youth and the elderly and trying to make things better"

"because I think that people like myself are getting the word out to more and more people even though we're not in political office...we're talking to the people who are sitting at home complaining about the district officers or tribal councilman to explain it to them that there is a way to change things....its togetherness...if you don't have togetherness you ain't ever going to change nothin'...getting the word out that there isn't this hopelessness that there is something to do and I think you can get it changed even though they call you all kinds of names like troublemaker or radical....hopefully we can get some people in there who will listen to the people instead of doing things their way for their friends and relatives...it's the truth...people hate the truth...political people hate the truth"

Access

As with concerns for today, Standing Rock residents emphasized social and community services for youth and elders, as well as, treatment centers and

addiction programs to help people become sober. Concerns for the future were dominated by assertions that youth were the proper and necessary starting point for positive community change and that elders should play an important role in helping youth actualize their future roles in the community. Additionally, intergenerational linkages were once again an important component in social service delivery for Standing Rock residents:

"I hope it still keeps getting better and I think that it can.....housing, jobs, get out the alcohol and drugs and people are going to have to learn to respect all over again you know....they need to take care of what they have because its not always going to be there.... but they have children who can have it when they grow up....and that will make the place better...."

"it will be better if we improve youth programs and have more alcohol and drug programs to give people the help that they need and get them safe and sober and that's a big thing anywhere you go with the people on the 'Res'"

"it will be a hard place to live if our elders pass away because that will make it harder to preserve our culture and we need this and we need young people to help with this"

"one of the most important things is the youth and their improvement because they are our future leaders"

Accessibility issues were also important to residents, several of whom suggested that Standing Rock develop a public transportation system to help people access commercial, social and health services. However, residents emphasized the importance of keeping tribal money on the reservation and accessing local services rather than those in commercial centers off the reservation:

"we have to travel for everything we need"

"things are inaccessible and a lot of people don't have cars...we need public transportation...and I'd like to buy everything on the 'Res' but there's nothing here and everything is so far away....we need to keep the money on the 'Res' but it leaves..."

Emmons County

Attainment

As with other time intervals, Attainment was an important factor for Emmons County residents when discussing the future of their communities. Young farmers and families continue to leave because of low crop prices and a depressed farm economy. Many residents have asserted throughout previous community assessments that the future of their community depends how on many young residents they are able to retain through the current farm crisis and beyond:

"it will get worse here if the younger people don't stay....sure there are old people here....retired people that have built a lot of homes here but the community needs more than just retired people....if the young people keep moving away....it won't get better here....and young people on the farm....life is up in the air...they don't know where to go...and I don't think they even want to go out in the fields anymore...because they don't know if they're gonna get a crop or the prices.....if its all just more debt then why would they stay then, why would they want to take that tractor out there if there ain't better pay for the farmers so they can make a living and if that changes this will be a better place....they need the prices.....and everything is low what you sell and high what you buy....and that don't add up to nothin'....farmers today need two incomes to make it and that's what's bad about it because the family values go downbecause they aren't together... when we grew up we had family life and mom and dad were home and nowadays they have to be at the job or working all the time just to buy groceries....."

Access

Emmons County residents are confident that they will be able to develop new businesses and services that will attract new residents and reverse some of the population declines that have affected their communities over the last 40 years. This optimism runs especially high in the northern half the county where a new school and closer proximity to Bismarck (~ 60,000 residents) have some residents believing that they will fast become a bedroom community for this population center. The civic spirit of this community has spread throughout the

county as other communities look to duplicate their success and add their own community development focal point for broader renewal. However, it remains to be seen if this new school and the other amenities being developed will attract new residents, especially considering the lack of good housing, which was also emphasized in the evaluation of community conditions today:

"new people may come from Bismarck....people wanting to move into a more rural area....because of safety issues.....and our new school"

"I think the population will grow and I think there will be more people moving in... it's starting already as far as that goes but there is no place for people to live... we have people looking for houses but there's none around...."

Despite the optimism of residents in the northern portion of the county, many community members throughout the area still worry about the ongoing farm crisis and the impact of losing more family farms. These residents concede that it will take a large influx of new residents to counter the ongoing population losses Emmons County has endured. They fear that new residents may not move in fast enough to counter the increasingly rapid decrease in family farms. Their concerns are well founded:

"the danger is that major loss of farmers.... and there aren't that many of them anymore.... but if we lost like 50 farmers that could be really tough on us because of what it would do to the schools ...in everyone of our remaining schools in the county... when one kid moves into the district its cause for celebration....that's how desperate it is.....and there just ain't enough people moving in to replace these families...its just a trickle here anyway...and these new families aren't as big as the farm families were in the past...."

A pastor of a church in the northern half of Emmons County spoke frankly about what the next 5 years might hold for the community. His comments are more tempered than those of optimistic community leaders who see an oasis in the new school and its location on a federal highway within driving distance of

Bismarck, ND. His comments also reflect concern for a growing service provision problem as small towns become increasingly populated by elderly residents who require assisted living services:

"some of these houses are going to be reoccupied by other old people... when one dies off the other moves in.....all of these people are crippled who live on this street....they're old....the population will stay fairly static in town....5 years from now the grocery store will be closed but we do have this fancy school and that could be a positive and if you threw in a few new people that could be good....the thought of the city fathers is that this school could be a draw because we are close enough to Bismarck and they think that people would build near Hazleton or between Hazleton and Bismarck and have their kids come to Hazleton school and there's talk of sterling school closing and those kids coming down here to go to school but I'd say 5 years from now when I look at my congregation we'll be about 10% smaller and I'll have buried an awful number in that time....farms are getting bigger, lousy farm economy and its been here a few years.....crops are good but prices are worse than they have ever been....so that can't be good....the bar will continue well.....someone told me that when the pull tabs came into the bar here there was some \$70,000 dropped in the bar in one week and that's a lot of money to drop in a short time....the bar will be there....that never changes....it's the last thing to go....stays longer than the churches....did you know that the bar in Hague used to have go-go dancers....."

Engagement

Engagement is among those factors that have been consistently important to residents of Emmons County. This preference for engagement in defining the good community is a reflection of the shared perception that this is one of the community's primary assets and pillars upon which positive community change will be built. Many community residents echo the assertions made below by a young resident in central Emmons County, who clearly sees a better future for his community:

"this might be a better place in the next 5 years because people really pull together here....and we're trying to build a rec. center in the next 5 years and that's an important thing to do and if we can do that it will be a boost to the community and maybe people will start moving here...its all up to us and what we decide to do together....its really pretty exciting"

Infrastructure

Similar to evaluations for their community today, Emmons County residents recognize the significance of their housing problem. In a mantra that most residents repeated when describing the future, community members asserted the importance of housing if they are to attract new residents to their community:

"I think we need housing....if we're going to get somebody in we need housing....we have a school, we have churches.....improve our water system...that might not bring a lot of people here but it will be good for us that are here.... maybe we could start a casino - except we're not the right people to do that.....(laughing)"

"but the main thing right now is housing...the houses are too small and people moving out of Bismarck want bigger houses....the new Cenex manager is looking for a house to buy but there's nothing big enough or suitable for him so he has to move something in here like a double wide trailer or build a new house...."

Community members are actively working to energize their communities. They are adding new infrastructure, exploring new industries and developing new services to attract residents. However, these communities must be careful to heed the advice offered by one community member who urged the development of a community vision based on realistic goals and existing community assets. If Emmons County can carry forward its plans for the future, there is real potential that local communities will remain viable. The challenge will be to sustain the energy driving these agendas, because as one resident asserted, the rural communities in Emmons County have often placed too much faith in hope and too little effort toward real community change through action:

"this community puts too much trust in hope and then time erodes and the community infrastructure erodes"

The following chapter will explore the felt and anticipatory needs expressed throughout chapter five. A discussion of these needs will help define and refine community development agendas for Emmons County and the Standing Rock reservation. Additionally, findings presented in chapters one through five will be summarized. Throughout these discussions, the relative importance of civic engagement in community development, QOL and community change will be highlighted.

CHAPTER 6 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Is American civic and community life in crisis as Putnam and others assert (Putnam, 2000; Putnam, 1995; Putnam, 1993; De Souza Briggs, 1998)? Civic decline is a statistical fact in many communities. One can count and track the decline in voter turnout, community organizations, involvement in community projects, weekly social interactions with fellow community members, and other forms of participation, that all suggest American communities have experienced a decline in civic engagement.

Numerous reasons have been cited for this decline in civic engagement (Putnam, 2000). However, the causes for civic decline have not diminished the importance of civic engagement to Americans. Assertions made by Americans in the Roper Study and other attitudinal explorations have highlighted how community members continue to value civic engagement as an important and necessary part of a good community and life.

The foregoing chapters have supported these assertions and illustrated how rural Americans on the Great Plains continue to value civic engagement as an important component in community QOL, despite broad community declines and challenges. However, in some communities civic engagement is a taken for granted asset, while in others the struggle to bring community members together in order to solve common problems and build a more trusting residential context is an ongoing challenge. In both instances, civic engagement is an important

ingredient for community improvement that should be balanced with other community development inputs.

Lawrence Welk and Sitting Bull are Neighbors, Ya Know

On learning that I was also working with people across the river, residents in both Emmons County and The Standing Rock Reservation would often assert, "that's a different world over there ya' know". This statement reflects how people, anthropologists included, often look at differences while missing similarities.

It is easy to focus on alterity, and fall prey to this taken for granted assumption when comparing Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation, because on the surface these communities appear to be very different. Emmons County is a farming community, dependent on the agricultural economy and its erratic prices. It is a place where people look to the sky, waiting for good weather, hoping for the right amount of rain and sun to bring in a bumper crop and fill their trucks with bushels of grain. It is a European American community, where older folks can still be heard talking about politics in German and dancing during community gatherings to accordions and polka music. Teens listen to country music or the back street boys on Bismarck radio stations while driving their pickups down main streets and talking about the next basketball game or party. However, each year there are fewer teens and families, and population loss has become a notable constant of community life. Cafes and church pews are increasingly filled with older residents, retired farmers and widowed farm wives who have aged in place while their children have moved on to jobs in the city rather than taking over the family farm from their father. Despite the many challenges facing Emmons County it maintains itself as a

quintessential rural community where you can leave your car unlocked, let your kids explore town without concern for their safety and trust that your neighbors are looking out for you just as you are looking out for them.

In contrast to Emmons County, it would appear that The Standing Rock Reservation is a very different world. Although farming and ranching were promoted among the Lakota and Dakota during the early reservation period and beyond, few tribal members farm or ranch, and those who are employed (because many aren't) work in the service sector, construction or for local government. It is a place where drugs are a serious problem and drunk men and women can be seen walking down the streets, hitch-hiking along the highway or asking for spare change in front of businesses. It is a Native American community where older folks speak Lakota and Dakota in district government or elder meetings and listen to powwow music during early morning radio shows. Teens listen to hip-hop on the reservation radio station and walk in the same verve as kids from Minneapolis or Denver, where some of them spend part of the year with relatives, filled as much with the routines of city life and MTV as they are the reservation. Culture and traditions are valued but reservation life is increasingly dominated by youth who are far removed from the history of their people, as elders who have the knowledge die and fertility rates pace a population growth that counterbalances out-migration for employment and high mortality rates. Older people and children fear numerous wild dogs, burnt out cars can be seen in ditches near the highway, and assaults and violence are common. It is a place that is often stereotyped and too frequently judged by its problems rather than its successes or promise for the future.

The reservation and Emmons County are dissimilar contexts with different historical profiles and developmental influences, yet they share a struggle for community revitalization and QOL preferences for a good community that they envision for themselves and their family. After all, Lawrence Welk and Sitting Bull are neighbors, ya' know.

Civic Engagement and the Good Community

The descriptions of community change presented in the last chapter illustrate how development and policy can impact people and create group specific contexts for community and QOL constructions. The community evaluations for both Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation highlight how these are different communities facing difficult problems, yet they both idealize similar good communities, and with but a few exceptions, they value the same kind of QOL preferences. This suggests that although they have traveled through group specific contexts for social construction, they also share contexts and mechanisms for social construction that have brought their ideal conceptions closer together and cause them to articulate a model for the good community not so unlike their neighbors from that other world across the river.

Despite their glaring differences, Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation struggle with some of the same issues and are simultaneously influenced by shared contexts for social construction. Unlike those communities benefiting from bull markets, the new economy and minor population shifts from urban to rural areas, Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation have not been riding the same economic wave as other rural or peri-urban communities. Both of these communities are facing the challenges of

unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. These challenges have precipitated the rise of suicide hotlines to help farmers in Emmons County deal with depression from a new farm crisis, while at the same time, suicide watches monitor numerous youth on the Standing Rock Reservation and intervention programs work to help residents suffering from chronic depression. Residents in both communities complain about the lack of services, businesses or recreation options. Low population densities make service delivery difficult for agencies that are working to help families on the reservation and rural elders throughout Emmons County. Dependency ratios are high in both communities, fueled by out-migration and an aging population in Emmons County, and high fertility rates coupled with equally high unemployment on the reservation. Land issues dominate the public rhetoric of each community. While family farmers struggle to keep their land from becoming one of many properties consolidated by large operators in Emmons County, the Standing Rock tribe is fighting equally hard to regain land lost through the Dawes Act and other land takings. Conflicts and disagreements with the federal government are also shared by these communities as farmers in Emmons County struggle with farm policies, NAFTA and inadequate price supports, and the Standing Rock Tribe confronts the government over land issues, treaties, sovereignty and other issues. In both communities, parents send their children to public schools that reinforce similar values, staffed by teachers trained at the same regional universities or colleges and drawing on curriculums that share common threads and themes (with the exception of some reservations teachers and courses that focus on traditions and culture or are taught from a native perspective – however most teachers on the

reservation are non-Indians, some of whom reside off the reservation). On any given night households in Emmons County are tuned to the same shows that TV's on the Standing Rock Reservation are capturing through *Primestar* satellite dishes or rabbit ears. Residents in each community talk about their next trip to Bismarck or Mobridge for new clothes, new shoes or the most recent special at Wal-Mart. They buy the same brands, watch the same commercials, and are told they need the same things.

Are the shared visions for a good community, expressed by residents of Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation, a product of human universals for a good community or specific to several of the shared influences stated above? This question is outside the scope of my research, however, it is clear that there are forces operating to construct individual and group preferences that either bring us closer together or push us further apart. This reinforces my earlier assertions that although there are inter and intra-group differences relative to QOL preferences, there are just as many similarities because of shared contexts, experiences, institutions and social constructions (e.g. mass media, TV etc).

In this dissertation I have constructed a regional macro-model for the good community, while also articulating micro conceptions of the good community for sub-groups on the Northern Plains. These findings support the importance of civic engagement and inter-household relations among both Native Americans and European Americans. Although material factors were significant components in conceptions of the good community, civic engagement and inter-

household relations far outweighed these concerns in the macro model for all groups and in most sub-group constructions.

Despite differences between these groups in the order and proportional strength of their prioritized factors, they both most frequently mentioned the same (3) factors: Engagement, Safety and Attainment. When Native Americans and European Americans discuss their ideal community, in many ways, they are describing the same place. This being said, there was one clear difference between Native Americans and European Americans relative to Vision versus Engagement. Although Native Americans prioritized Engagement over Vision, their Vision score far exceeded that for European Americans, as did the Engagement score of European Americans versus Native Americans. The influence of ethnicity in differentiating respondents across these factors was supported by regression models. Additionally, this split is mirrored in other inter and intra-group comparisons. This finding highlights how, although Native Americans and European Americans are very similar, there are still ethnic differences between these two groups. Native Americans place greater value on the role of culture, religion and government in creating a shared vision for what their community is, how people in their community should operate and what they should do in achieving their shared and personal goals.

The relative importance of Engagement versus material factors was illustrated through a macro-model and inter-group comparisons. In the Macro-model for a good community the Engagement factor far outscored Attainment, and was more important than Infrastructure and Attainment combined. This preference for Engagement over material factors was consistent across all inter-

group comparisons. Although several intra-group comparisons highlighted instances in which Engagement was less significant than material factors e.g. among Native American men, it should be clear that Engagement is generally prioritized over material factors when individuals describe the good community.

The assertion made by Paredes and Joos (1980) that Native Americans and women are less material than European Americans and men when describing the good community or QOL preferences was not unambiguously supported by this research. The aggregate scores for Infrastructure and Attainment were identical for European Americans and Native Americans when they described the good community, and each of the scores for these individual factors differed by only 1%. This finding suggests that Native Americans and European Americans are equally material when describing the good community refuting the assertions made by Paredes and Joos (1980). Additionally, Native American men were more material than any group when looking at Attainment alone or Infrastructure and Attainment as a material aggregate, further supporting the notion that European Americans are not more material than Native Americans. However, men were more material than women when looking at the good community by gender. Although this appears to support the research of Paredes and Joos (1980), intra-group comparisons relative to gender and material preferences provide counter arguments. Among European Americans, women and men had equal Attainment scores, and women had an overall higher material score when taking the aggregate proportions of both Infrastructure and Attainment.

These findings highlight the importance of engagement factors in QOL preferences for the good community among both Native Americans and European Americans, supporting Putnam's (2000) assertion that it is important to balance social capital development with human and physical capital development in community development efforts. Although physical and human capital developments are important components for community renewal, they are clearly not the only necessary components in building better communities and a more robust QOL. The development of social capital is often overlooked in community development practice and policy, yet, as community members assert, it is an essential and crucial component in their conceptions of a healthy community.

Civic engagement is fundamental to good community QOL and community optimism because trust and personal relationships create a context for success and provide a broader sense of support and security than do household income or other subjective economic factors. Additionally, perceived strengths in civic engagement are the foundation for subjective notions of positive community change and optimism for the future because community members gain confidence from the support and possibilities of collective action relative to individual efficacy i.e. there is strength in numbers when approaching a problem or challenge.

Social capital is the measure of what people do together and the power of what they can achieve when they act collectively. It is the foundation for community and should be an important component in civic and community revival.

Civic Engagement and Community Development Policy

Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation have gone through numerous changes and transitions over the last 40 years. When evaluating community change during this time span, residents indicated that their communities were better 40 years ago than they are today. Additionally, they asserted that their communities would improve over the next 5 years, giving their community higher ratings in the future relative to today. As was described in chapter six, these evaluations form a concave curve for both Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation.

Community QOL ratings for today fell below the satisfaction gold standard for both Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation. Despite this fact, 60% of all residents in Emmons County and 20% of all residents on the Standing Rock Reservation gave their community a QOL rating of 7 or higher. This suggests that although overall community QOL ratings for these communities fell below the satisfaction gold standard, residents in Emmons County are generally satisfied with their communities. In contrast, it should also be clear that residents on the Standing Rock reservation are generally not satisfied with their communities today. Regression models and a Pearson's correlation matrix were developed to explore the relationship between QOL ratings and QOL factors. However, there were no statistically significant Regression Models or correlations identified for QOL ratings and satisfaction with community QOL today. Therefore, a causal relationship between civic engagement and satisfaction was not substantiated by this research. Additionally, there were no statistically

significant relationships among income, subjective economic variables or community change and satisfaction.

These ratings highlight an interesting pattern where the past and future are better places, better communities. The past and future are both idealized constructions. Although the past is something people can remember or were told stories about, its distance from the present makes it easily romanticized, the problems fade while the positive aspects of life and community are fondly remembered. These idealizations of the past and future create higher ideal constructions for community conditions in the future and past, versus lower real constructions when rating QOL today or in the recent past. This pattern suggests that the more abstract a time period or event becomes (i.e. by being in the far past or future) the higher it will be rated because people naturally rely on an idealized construct of the good community when describing more abstract or ill-defined points in time.

Despite this assertion, it is clear from community interviews and proportions across each of the factors for a good community, that the impacts of development and community change have been real and not imagined (or creatively constructed). Dams, casinos, mechanization, technology, public policy, commodity markets and demographic decline have all had substantive impacts on Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation.

However, there was one significant finding relative to community optimism. Residents rated their community QOL higher in the future than today for both Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation. Standing Rock residents were particularly optimistic about the future for their communities, with

88% of all respondents rating their community higher in the future than today. In contrast, Emmons County residents, though generally optimistic, were slightly less enthusiastic about the future with 62% expressing optimism. Although there were no statistically significant regression models or correlations identified for optimism among Native American residents on the Standing Rock Reservation, one model was developed for optimism among European American residents of Emmons County.

The civic engagement theme, an element of the Engagement factor, accounted for 34% of the variance in optimism among European American residents in Emmons County. This finding is significant and supports the importance of civic engagement as an essential element in QOL and positive community change. This finding also refutes the hypothesis asserted by Paredes and Joos (1980) that optimism for the future is driven by perceived community improvement or change.

Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation have both experienced civic and economic decline from 40 years in the past through to today. Although civic engagement in Emmons County continues to be a community asset, residents asserted that it has declined since the past. Demographic changes and economic crises have impacted this decline, but they have not extinguished civic engagement or civic infrastructures in Emmons County. As regression models in chapter five illustrated, civic engagement continues to be that community factor driving local optimism for the future. The situation is slightly different on the Standing Rock Reservation. Like Emmons County, residents assert that civic engagement was higher in the past relative to

today. However, unlike Emmons County, Native Americans on the reservation did not cite civic engagement as an existing asset, but rather, one that needs to be developed and nurtured in order to achieve the community improvements they foresee in the future. In both instances, civic engagement is that ingredient necessary for the improvement of community conditions and the actualization of economic, social, physical and environmental change. Although there were no correlations or regression models to support this assertion, except for the relationship between optimism and civic engagement, it is clear from community interviews summarized in chapter six that civic engagement is seen as a necessary starting point for positive and sustainable community change.

This has important implications for community development policy and supports assertions made throughout chapters one, two and three that civic engagement, civic infrastructure and social capital are necessary components of community development. When people can feel the value and strength of social capital they are optimistic for the future. However, social capital doesn't accrue interest by sitting idle, it only grows by being used. When civic engagement and social capital are harnessed to actualize or pursue shared community goals they fuel optimism. Optimism in turn ignites further civic engagement, creating a circular synergy that can propel a community forward. Social capital is thus both an investment in the future of a community and that necessary tool in implementing community development processes in the present, because it inspires people toward a collectively constructed future and gives them the strength to achieve their goals through an ongoing development process. This is why, as stated in chapter two, civic engagement and public participation increase

the efficacy and sustainability of public policy, community development and social problem solving, and should be standard components in these processes.

However, there are several civic engagement challenges facing the Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County. On the reservation, drug abuse must decrease; trust in tribal government increase and divisiveness decline before civic engagement can be an asset for positive community change. In Emmons County, the energy and interest of existing activists must be sustained and new volunteers identified to replace the aging baby boomer generation who is increasingly comprising the local population but disengaging from public life in contrast to national volunteer trends for this group. Additionally, communities in Emmons County must learn to work together and put aside their pursuit of competitive community development agendas. Building a strong base for civic engagement will be essential as Emmons County and the Standing Rock Reservation implement community development initiatives to address the social and civic problems facing their communities and make progress toward a better future together.

Felt and Anticipatory Needs for Community Development

There were numerous community needs expressed by residents of Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation. Although each community is facing a number of difficult challenges, Standing Rock Reservation is especially struggling to confront community needs across all factors for the good community. The needs in Emmons County are not as broad but have equally deep impacts that will be important for communities throughout the county to overcome. The following list itemizes the community development needs,

organized by good community QOL factors that were identified by local residents for Emmons County and Standing Rock Reservation.

Standing Rock

Vision

- Our people need to develop a vision for the future.
- Good leaders are needed who can work with the people and develop a shared vision for how to spend JTAC and Casino monies.
- Tribal and local governments need to engage residents in a more substantive and genuine manner.
- Tribal government needs to become more accountable and responsive to the people in the programs it develops and the funds it manages.
- Nepotism and other forms of favoritism need to be eliminated relative to tribal jobs, benefits and services (including federally funded programs).
- New leaders need to be recruited who are interested in serving the needs of the people and improving life on Standing Rock.
- Corruption needs to be eliminated at all levels of tribal government.
- Culture and language programs are needed to teach traditional forms of leadership and life to the youth.
- Traditions need to guide community problem solving and action.

Engagement

- More social events and community gatherings are needed to bring people together as they did in the past.

- Districts, communities, households and individuals must stop their In-fighting over casino funds.
- Addictions must be reduced before civic engagement can increase.
- A context that supports trust, inter-household relations and positive communications must be developed or problems on the reservation will persist.
- An ethic of civic responsibility to replace that of civic entitlement. Positive civic attitudes to replace negative civic attitudes.
- Unity across communities and families must be strengthened and supported.
- People need to be given the opportunity to voice their concerns and see their suggestions put into action otherwise disengagement will continue
- Cooperation between all groups, including tribal government and the people of Standing Rock.
- Engaged parents who are involved in the lives of youth and schools

Infrastructure

- More housing is needed so that families to alleviate crowded conditions and homelessness
- Better housing is needed because much of the housing on the reservation is sub-standard or shoddily constructed
- Sewer and water access need to be improved and expanded so that all residents have these amenities
- Road improvements are needed throughout the reservation

- The level of telephone penetration needs to be increased so that all residents have access to phone services
- Public transportation is a necessary component of increased self sufficiency because many people are without reliable transportation
- Trash pick-up needs to be more frequent and littering reduced throughout the reservation

Attainment

- Community gardens are needed to provide diet alternatives to commodities and provide families with non-cash resources to build their self-sufficiency
- Assistance programs need to be reconfigured so that they build self-sufficiency and independence, rather than fostering dependence
- Workforce development programs should prepare youth and adults for employment
- Jobs that pay a living wage are needed to reduce unemployment and dependence
- Alternatives to TANF (temporary assistance to needy families) are needed because residents may not be able to transition off of assistance if there are no jobs
- Reservation resources need to stay on the reservation and commercial services need to be developed locally so that tribal members can patronize Indian owned businesses on the reservation and reduce economic leakage
- Reservation jobs should be reserved for tribal members

- There should be entrepreneurial development funds for those interested in starting small businesses on the reservation
- More training is needed in business development and management
- Business incubators should be developed in each of the districts to promote new business development and micro-enterprise ventures by local residents
- Successful native business people should be linked with community members who want to start a business so that they can share best practices for starting and operating a business
- Work contexts on the reservation should be culturally appropriate
- The primary and secondary education system needs to be improved so that youth are prepared for the future
- Sitting Bull College needs to be expanded so that it has the capacity to offer four year programs on the reservation

Access

- Social services and prevention need to be driven by the notion that "its better to build children than to rebuild adults". As such, social and recreation services should focus on youth
- Elders are often neglected and should also be an important focus of local service delivery
- Youth programs should have a strong workforce development emphasis and include summer employment opportunities
- Counseling services need to be improved and expanded to provide youth with more mental health support

- Mentoring programs need to be developed throughout the reservation so that youth in each district are paired with caring, sober adults who can provide them with the support and encouragement necessary for their positive development
- Intergenerational linkages between youth and elders should be stressed throughout all social service delivery
- The reservation needs more recreation opportunities and facilities so that both youth and adults have positive places to interact and productive activities in which to participate
- Services need to be decentralized outside of Ft. Yates, ND. Satellite social and health services providers should be located in each of the districts
- More treatment centers, mental health services and addiction prevention programs should be developed to curb drug and other abuses, and help people become sober or find productive methods for dealing with depression
- Programs and services for sexual and physical abuse need to be developed or expanded on the reservation to deal with this rising problem

Safety

- Addictions (drinking, other drugs, huffing, gambling) are at the heart of many reservation safety issues and are some of the most serious problems facing the Standing Rock people. Aggressive and holistic intervention programs should be developed to deal with the impact of addictions on the reservation.
- Wild dogs are a problem on the reservation that especially affects elders and young children. Free spay and neutering programs need to be developed to reduce the wild dog population. Existing animals who do not have an owner

and are harassing community residents or attacking cattle should be euphemized

- Gangs are an increasingly serious community and youth safety issue. Local law enforcement needs to be better trained in gang prevention and intervention methods. Additionally, programs should be developed that provide alternatives to gang members in each of the districts. Gang members from the browns, the blues and the reds (the three gang divisions on the Standing Rock Reservation) should be engaged in positive community projects to change the focus of their activities and interests. The group mentality of the gangs should be capitalized on and transformed into a positive tool for community revitalization.
- There need to be more police and better police coverage throughout the reservation. Districts should have police substations and the tribe and BIA should actively work to hire and place police as residents in each of the communities.
- Crime and vandalism need to be reduced in all districts and increased police coverage will help control these problems.

Family

- Parenting classes and programs need to be developed to help and support parents on the reservation and reduce "bad parenting".

Emmons County

Vision

- Emmons County needs a balanced community development plan that is built on a shared vision of where the community can go and how people should work together in achieving these development goals.

Engagement

- Communities within the county need to work with each other rather than against each other
- More community members need to be engaged in civic projects and take leadership in organizing community projects or change agendas. New ways for engaging older residents must be developed to counter their current disengagement from civic projects and activities.
- Community events are needed to bring residents together and promote inter-household relationships. The local civic infrastructure needs to be expanded and strengthened to provide these contexts for fellowship and civic engagement.
- More residents need to shift their focus from individual success and security, to community success and sustainability.
- More residents need to develop a pro-change attitude
- Negative leaders need to stop tearing down ideas before they can be put into action
- Rifts between old and young relative to community change need to be patched if the community hopes to move forward

- The community needs to redefine itself and determine an appropriate development agenda based on local assets, realistic plans and community input.

Infrastructure

- More housing is needed if the community hopes to attract new residents.
- Empty farmsteads need to be occupied by new families.
- The community needs more apartment complexes and rental properties.
- Homes need to be repaired or retrofitted to accommodate new residents, retain existing residents and respond to the independent living needs of aging residents.

Attainment

- Better crop and cattle prices are needed to improve local economic conditions and prospects
- Economic leakage to regional commercial centers needs to be reduced and local businesses supported
- Employment opportunities that are appealing to and appropriate for farmers who are transitioning out of farming need to be developed if these residents are to be retained and population decline mitigated.
- Family farms and small operators / landowners need to be supported and preserved, and land consolidation must be curbed.
- New commercial services should be developed and existing commercial services supported by local residents and government.

- There need to be more non-farm jobs and employment opportunities for local residents
- Farms and the local economy need to become more diversified.

Access

- More recreation and cultural services are needed to retain existing residents and appeal to new residents
- Social activities are needed for youth throughout the county. A greater effort should be made to connect youth who live in towns and on farms, and more group activities should be planned to engage these youth outside of the school day.
- Younger residents and families are needed to reverse years of population decline, and balance the population structure for the county
- Aggressive and holistic elder services need to be developed that address the increasing proportion of elders requiring independent living assistance and services.

The following two sections briefly outline separate development agendas for the Standing Rock Reservation and Emmons County. Rather than focusing on one problem or community issue, these suggested agendas multiply and maximize social impacts by addressing related problems through inter-linked and multi-dimensional interventions.

Roosevelt Revisited: Putting Welfare to Work on the Reservation

In 1996 Congress passed legislation that made sweeping changes to the welfare system in the United States. This legislation authorized the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families Act (TANF), that ended the federal welfare system

and its guarantee of benefits for all needy families, and replaced it with a system that imposes time limits on benefits and requires most recipients to work. Many on the reservation asserted that the transition from welfare to work will be impossible for most given the lack of available jobs on the reservation. However, casino and JTAC monies could provide the tribe with the financial means to implement their own program and welfare support network. This network should focus on support while building self-sufficiency and independence. Welfare to work programs generally only provide job training and placement assistance at the termination of benefits. However, the lack of jobs on the reservation and the reluctance of local residents to move necessitate a different approach on the Standing Rock Reservation. This approach would put welfare to work by creating tribally funded jobs that employ residents who are transitioning out of welfare. These jobs could resemble Roosevelt era WPA programs, where the federal government provided work for unemployed citizens on public works projects or engaged them in other activities related to the public good.

Residents should be engaged throughout this project to identify community priorities, contribute to the decision-making process and provide ongoing evaluation of program efficacy. Wages and salaries should be determined by Self-sufficiency standards rather than federal poverty levels and minimum wage standards.

Families transitioning off of welfare would be eligible for this program. Youth and adult participants would receive job training, education incentives and guaranteed job placement upon successful completion of these programs. They would also be paid while taking part in this training. Jobs would be created that

address the social problems and local concerns that were prioritized by residents during an initial visioning process. Other supportive services would be offered to participant families and wrap-around services stressed through inter-agency and service provider collaborations. Counseling and addictions treatment might be some of the many services offered through this program, which would also be determined by local residents and their prioritized needs. The tribe would provide transportation for work or access to social services for those who do not have their own transportation or cannot afford their existing transportation. This program should also stress inter-generational linkages between elders and youth. This could be achieved by employing youth to work with elders and employing elders to teach youth traditions and the Lakota language. Parents of youth participants should also be actively involved in the work being done by their youth, and opportunities for youth and adult participants from the same family to be engaged in collaborative community improvement efforts should be important components in this process.

Participants should be engaged in the ongoing evaluation and prioritizing of the program. They should have a voice in the process. Additionally, numerous social and civic engagement opportunities should be developed that bring participants together as a group and promote better inter-household relationships among community members.

This program would provide a safety net for those transitioning off of welfare by providing them with a job, a living wage and necessary supportive services related to their continued self-sufficiency. It would also build job skills, reduce unemployment, and provide youth and elder services across each of the

districts on the reservation. Finally, giving residents voice in this project, engaging them in the process of addressing community problems through service, providing them with opportunities to work with fellow community members on shared concerns and promoting inter-household fellowship will serve to build civic responsibility and civic engagement while simultaneously addressing numerous social issues facing the Standing Rock Reservation.

Civic Entrepreneurship

Declines in the farm economy have had numerous impacts on Emmons County. Population decline and the loss of commercial and other services are but a few of the changes that have impacted Emmons County over the last 40 years. Many residents recognize that an ongoing dependence on the agricultural sector may not be a viable alternative for communities in Emmons County as they work toward a sustainable future. These residents assert that Emmons County must develop new industries and diversify its economic base.

Each community in the county has the potential for developing an economic niche relative to their context specific assets and capacities. However, communities may not have the diversity of assets and capacities to fulfill broadly defined development goals. As such, communities must redefine their development focus from single community development efforts to inter-community development projects that maximize their economic niches and create a countywide lattice of economic and community development that each community contributes to and benefits from.

Communities in Emmons County are close enough to each other to take advantage of an inter-community development process. The projects, services,

businesses and facilities developed for each community would create a synergistic system of services and new opportunities that residents could access. However, in order for inter-community development to work in Emmons County, the divisiveness across communities and competitive development agendas of each community must be conceptually and practically transformed into an economic development collective that is driven by civic entrepreneurship. Civic entrepreneurship would engage community members in a collaborative visioning process where they would collectively plan business and economic development agendas for each community that are based on the assets, capacities and potentials of that community. These agendas should focus on what communities can control and what they can do, what they want to have and what they do have. This inter-community development plan must be balanced across social, human and physical capital.

The strength of social capital and civic engagement in each community can be the base from which to build stronger inter-community social capital and engagement. This will be a difficult transition for communities in Emmons County to make as they struggle with pro-change versus no-change factions and older residents who define their community *vis a vis* others in a more competitive manner (because historically communities in this county were more self-sustaining and competitive). However, if Emmons County is able to put aside inter-community divisiveness and develop a solid plan of inter-community development and civic entrepreneurship for collective sustainability, it will have created a set of services across residential contexts that provide more than any single community could support alone.

Will communities on the Great Plains have a better tomorrow? Will the Great Plains become a "buffalo commons"? Although these questions remain unanswered, this dissertation has explored some of the practical issues facing communities on the Great Plains and the importance of civic engagement in anchoring a community development agenda for positive change. If there is a better tomorrow on the horizon, it will not look like today, and residents must creatively redefine their future together while working collectively on turning hope into reality. They are their own greatest assets, because communities don't build themselves, they are built by the people who call them home.

Appendix A

Informed Consent and Respondent Compensation

Each interview began with informed consent. The interviewer first introduced himself/herself and specified the relationship of this study to the University of Florida. Respondents were informed that they were being asked to take part in a research study and a description of this research was provided. The potential risks and benefits of this project were discussed, and it was made clear that the respondent's participation in this study was voluntary. Interviewers were up front and honest about the time commitment that participation entailed, and respondents were instructed that they could refuse to answer any question. Additionally, respondents were informed that they would be compensated for their time and participation (compensation preceded oral history interviews and proceed QOL interviews). The informed consent process for interviews took two forms: 1) a verbal informed consent script for QOL interviews and 2) a signed informed consent statement for oral history interviews.

Community QOL interviews used a verbal informed consent script, rather than a signed informed consent statement, because people on the Standing Rock Reservation, and in rural North Dakota, are skeptical of signing documents and reluctant to take part in activities that require a signature or official documentation that could link them to their comments. As such, a verbal informed consent script was more appropriate for this research because it did not exclude those respondents reluctant to sign an informed consent statement or

prejudice their responses because of fear that their comments might be linked to their identity. However, if respondents consented to audio-taping they were also asked if they consented to have these tapes stored in local archives for future use by those interested in community issues and history. Permission to store the recording in local archives was garnered through a signed consent form that was completed by the respondent at the end of their interview. Whether these interviews were taped or not taped, respondent confidentiality was protected to the extent provided by law. This was achieved by eliminating all identifying information in the dissertation and in the raw data (including audio-tapes and field notes). Respondents are identified by a code in all raw data and project staff are the only individuals who can link the notes to the respondent's identity. Taped interviews, for which consent to store in local archives was not granted, were only accessed by project staff and destroyed when the analysis was completed. The remainder of the data has been returned to the Standing Rock Tribe and the Emmons County Historical Society for future use by scholars or other interested parties.

Oral history interviews included a signed informed consent statement. A signed informed consent statement was appropriate for elder interviews because a secondary goal of this project was to build local historical archives through these interviews, necessitating a signed statement that gave permission to store and catalogue interviews in appropriate local archives. Additionally, these interviews were both audio-taped and video-taped, requiring an added level of informed consent and assent by the respondent, since their identity could not be concealed if they assented to being video-taped. Therefore, signed informed

consent statements were not only appropriate but also necessary for these interviews. Unlike the community QOL interviews, signed informed consent was problematic among elders. Many elders, as a matter of pride, preferred to have their identity associated with the knowledge and historical information they were providing to their communities, and confidentiality was not as much of an issue for this group or for the information they were providing. Before each interview began, elders read and signed the informed consent document, checking the level of documentation and confidentiality with which they were comfortable. As such, each elder chose whether they would be video-taped, audio-taped, or photographed, and if their interview and related oral or visual documentation would be stored in local archives. In few cases where elders did not want a copy of their interviews released to local archives, respondent confidentiality was protected to the extent provided by law. This was achieved by eliminating all identifying information in the dissertation and raw data (including audio-tapes, video-tapes and field notes). These respondents were only identified by a code in all raw data and project staff are the only individuals who can link the notes to the respondent's identity. Taped interviews for which consent to store in local archives was not granted, were only accessed by project staff and destroyed when the research was completed.

Outside of interviews, informed consent was also given to all institutions and agencies participating or working collaboratively with this project. Specifically, all universities, public schools, and community centers that provided research assistants, interns or youth participants for this study were read an informed consent script. Staff affiliated with these institutions, who were working

directly with the study (i.e. teachers etc.), were also read this same informed consent script. All research assistants, whether they were university affiliated or not, were required to verbally consent to their participation and were read a consent script. Additionally, before youth were allowed to work as research assistants on this project, they were read a consent script, verbally assented that they were interested in participating and had their parents sign a consent form. Research assistants did not keep data they collected, and these materials were relinquished to me upon their collection. Materials collected by research assistants, whether they were adult or youth (younger than age 18), were disposed of or archived in the manner cited above for each type of interview.

Respondents were compensated for their participation in this study. Those respondents who were interviewed for the QOL component of this study were paid \$10.00. Elders interviewed for the oral history component of this study were given in-kind gifts of black tea and buffalo meat or beef.

Appendix B Pedagogy of the Practitioner

"We don't have an oversupply of Ph.D.'s for society. We need more people who've been deeply trained, but not just deeply trained as academics"
Jody D. Nyquist (Director - Instructional Development and Research - University of Washington) (Magner, 2000)

The traditional model for doctoral education is coming under attack. Although Ph.D.'s are in demand, this demand is driven by employment opportunities outside academia, and many in the public and private sector complain that doctoral trained professionals are ill prepared for work outside of academic research institutions (Magner, 2000). This poses a serious problem for Ph.D. training programs, because their future relevance may be determined by their ability to produce professionals who match these market demands. As Nyquist asserts above, graduate education is in need of a serious overhaul away from replicating academic researchers and toward a pedagogy that trains students for employment in public and private sector organizations.

The struggle to create a more publicly relevant and applied anthropology that trains practitioners for public and private sector employment is belied by the more general plea for pedagogical reform in Ph.D. level training programs mentioned above. Anthropology's shift from training academics to training practitioners should focus on the development of practitioner profiles, curriculum reform, tying practitioners to practitioner training, classrooms with context and a re-conceptualization of theses and dissertations.

Practitioner Profiles

Anthropology departments need to put greater emphasis on non-academic career development and placement. In conjunction with this, masters and Ph.D. students must formulate a strong understanding of the skills, knowledge and credentials that will maximize their marketability in their sector of choice. These are crucial considerations from the outset of graduate training, and not just as students are completing their theses or dissertations.

Anthropology departments should encourage and facilitate the development of practitioner profiles for each student. These profiles would be developed in collaboration with department staff or practicing anthropologists to put each student on a trajectory toward their desired goals as future practitioners. Profiles would change with the interests of each student as they mature through a graduate program and could be updated during regular evaluations of student interests and progress. In conjunction with this, departments must establish professional development seminars that focus on non-academic careers. These seminars should be offered to graduate students at every stage in their progress toward an MA or Ph.D. and not only during the first year for a new and incoming cohort. Finally, departments need to link the practitioner profile developed by each student (detailing skills, capacities, special trainings, interests and experiences etc.) with ongoing practitioner career placement services. A stronger commitment should be made by academic departments to create non-academic networking and job opportunities for graduating students. Anthropology departments must become full service and

provide more than tuition support and training to students if the discipline, and those it trains, hopes to thrive within a growing public and private sector market.

Equally important to departmental programs that promote a practitioner culture, are student efforts to maximize their experiences within this structure and develop a professional marketing plan for securing practitioner employment. A student who maximizes their experiences while in graduate school works to develop a practitioner profile that has a multi-disciplinary foundation, a breadth of out of class experiences relevant to their career interests, work experience beyond teaching or traditional research assistantships, and constant attention to networking within those sectors they hope to work.

Single field competency is appropriate for those planning academic careers. However, students interested in non-academic employment need a multi-disciplinary foundation and should creatively construct a personalized curriculum to match their career goals in the public or private sector. Multi-disciplinary coursework and interaction with students and professionals outside of anthropology will expose students to possibilities for practice that may not have been made apparent within their anthropology coursework. Broadly based, yet critically focused coursework can also expose students to new possibilities for out of class volunteer and work experiences that build on their academic development and add to their overall marketability as practitioners.

Hands-on experiences within a non-academic public or private sector work context are important for the professional development and future marketability of students interested in becoming practicing anthropologists. Although credentials and education are important variables in attaining employment outside of

academia, work experience (outside of traditional graduate student work roles e.g. teaching assistantships) is crucial for developing a competitive practitioner profile. Students should explore and secure employment during graduate school that directly relates to their practitioner goals, even if it means working in a volunteer capacity.

In conjunction with these efforts, students should pay special attention to networking and developing contacts within the sector they hope to work. A first step in this networking should be with active practicing anthropologists. Currently practicing anthropologists can give students important insights into what they should be doing to better position themselves for public or private sector employment and help students identify work, internships, thesis, dissertation or volunteer opportunities that will augment their practitioner trajectory.

Diversity and breadth equals professional marketability, because they open more than the academic option after graduation and propel students toward opportunities in the growing private and public market where professionals who can work beyond the boundaries of one discipline are in demand. However, in order to take advantage of these opportunities students must do more than maximize their experiences, they must also market these experiences and the contributions they could make to a public or private sector organization.

The word market often has negative connotations to many pursuing liberally focused social science degrees such as anthropology, because selling oneself is considered an abasement or beneath the discipline. In other words our work and experiences should speak for themselves. This is a naïve, elitist and unfortunate perspective held mainly by unemployed or tenured

anthropologists. However, networking and marketing have always played a crucial role in both academic and non-academic job placement, and the necessity for a strategic professional marketing plan continues to be crucial today. Students ignore this at their own peril, because more than ever one must sell themselves (and what you can offer a problem or organization) to participate in social change. Working to maximize experiences while in graduate school and creating a strategic marketing plan should be primary concerns for the student hoping to work as a practicing anthropologist.

Curriculum Reform

An important component in redefining anthropological doctoral training is curricular reform. Many within the discipline have argued for changes in anthropological training that focus on skill development relevant to public or private service and practice (Peacock, 1997; Hebert, 1997; Baba, 1994; Hill, 2000; Guerron-Montero, 1998; Chambers and Freidenberg, 2000). Beyond this, the importance of diffuse and multi-disciplinary issue areas such as quality of life, smart growth, sustainability and public policy in our contemporary social milieu necessitates not only a shift of emphasis within anthropology courses, but also a broader conception of coursework and capacity building that is geared toward training practicing anthropologists for work in these methodologically, theoretically, and conceptually broad areas. In order to meet the challenges of a practitioner dominated field, masters or doctoral programs should focus on the following curricular considerations:

Provide examples of domestic practice and anthropological / sociological case studies conducted in the United States: Anthropology curriculums should

redefine where anthropology is done (i.e. not just the developing world), and provide students with numerous examples of anthropological practice in North American contexts (Nadar, 1999). Opportunities for anthropologists in the developing world are declining as indigenous anthropologists from these areas are taking project leadership where European or American anthropologists once filled an important role. This coupled with the growing number of opportunities for anthropologists to work in public or private sectors in the United States (Shankman & Ehlers, 2000) necessitates a reinvigorated focus on domestic practice (Hebert, 1996). Although a focus on the developing world and tribal peoples has been dominate within the discipline (Shankman & Ehlers, 2000), there is a rich history of domestic research (e.g. see the work of James Abegglen, Conrad Arensburg, Horace Clayton, Eliot Chapple, W. Allison Davis, John Dollard, St. Claire Drake, Burleigh Gardner, Solan Kimbal, Leo Srole, Horace Miner, Walter Goldschmidt, Charlotte Gower, James Slotkin, Hortense Powdermaker, Paul Radin, Sol Tax, John Bennett, and W.F. Whyte) and practice that will help shape the content and structure of an anthropological curriculum focused on training practicing anthropologists for work in the United States (Lewis, 1998; Shankman and Ehlers, 2000, Hebert, 1996; Gordon, 1998 and Fricke, 1998).

Blend theory and practice throughout the curriculum: Anthropology curriculums should emphasize praxis theory and creative ways to explore other anthropological theories during practice. Faculty should provide ample examples of applied research, and illustrate how others have utilized or explored theory in applied settings. The applied versus pure research dichotomy should be

demystified and faculty should encourage students to view theory, practice, research and application as parts of the same whole (Hill, 2000; Chambers and Freidenberg, 2000). The pre-occupation with anthropological theory should be de-emphasized, and classroom content should be open to relevant theories from other disciplines. Research problems and questions should be developed relative to current pressing social problems (Baba, 1994) and social policies should be seen as theories in the real world (Peacock, 1997) with anthropological training and methods directed toward their exploration.

Re-conceptualize research methods and design, stressing versatility, participation, methods as projects and the production of policy relevant data:

Anthropological training should not only redefine where anthropology is done but how anthropology is done. Research design and methods need to be re-conceptualized as more than data extraction mechanisms. Methods should be community projects, capacity building processes, interventions, links in a civic infrastructure and iterative implementation entities that are sustainable beyond the life of a single applied research or development project. Additionally, participatory research and planning methods should be at the heart of practitioner training as public participation is an increasingly important component in human services delivery, regional planning, federally funded programs, smart growth initiatives, sustainable development, community health, community youth development, and public policy. Practitioners need to be methodologically versatile and well versed in not only qualitative methods, but also quantitative methods and other less traditional approaches that include public participation and have multiple impacts. Doctoral students must learn to

use methods that produce policy relevant data while working to impact social or industrial issues through direct interventions and processes which produce residual benefits for people, organizations and communities.

Multi-disciplinary content and training for work in social or public policy and issues of the "New Politics": Although employment opportunities for practicing anthropologists are expanding in both the private and public sector, the most promising area for the employment of practicing anthropologists continues to be social and public policy. Anthropologists have a long history of being involved in social and public policy related issues but in today's policy arena single field competency, especially anthropological competency, is not enough to successfully (in most cases) market oneself or prepare oneself for work in this sector. Many have argued that practitioner training programs need to focus more on the multi-disciplinary skills and knowledge needed for the policy sector. This means weaving policy discussions and training into anthropology curriculums, and creating opportunities for students to develop multi-disciplinary or dual degree concentrations. The same is true for issues that Habermas has called "the New Politics", e.g. quality of life, smart growth, sustainability, and public participation. A concern for these issues is becoming a common factor in policy discussions and it is important for practicing anthropologists to develop an understanding of these issues while in graduate school. Like policy in general, these issues require training and competencies that go beyond one discipline. Practicing or applied anthropologists without sufficient breadth of training and knowledge in public policy will be at a disadvantage in the social and public service marketplace. Anthropology curriculums must be designed to provide

future practitioners with the background and skills necessary for diverse policy sectors and issues of "The New Politics". A failure to do so is a dis-service to students given that many, either by choice or necessity, will be pursuing employment outside of academia and in the social or public policy sector.

Anthropology as a policy science: Beyond public policy training components in anthropological curriculums, there needs to be a further transformation toward anthropology as a policy science. This will require a philosophical shift within the discipline. First, as was mentioned above, students must be trained in methods that facilitate the collection of policy relevant data. Second, they must also learn how to turn this data into public policy and action. Historically, anthropology has been criticized for being heavy on observations but light on solutions. This needs to change if anthropology and anthropologists are to take a more active role in the policy sector. Future practitioners must be trained in how to use their trademark observations and rich data (participant, qualitative data, quantitative data etc.) to form policy interventions or agendas. Finally, anthropology needs to rethink the alterity versus sameness dichotomy. Anthropologists have long focused on human differences (although there have been many who searched for human universals) rather than similarities across groups. In developing and implementing macro-level public policy that must work across many groups and communities, issues of alterity and sameness are equally significant. Although, alterity and issues of cultural relativism should always be important considerations when formulating policy, issues of sameness play a crucial role in constructing policy interventions that will work across a diverse population. Finding the commonalties across diverse groups vis a vis a service or social

issue contributes to developing a policy intervention that meets the shared concerns of more than one community. Public policy must solve a problem, and it must do this for the greatest number of people. Practitioners who can balance alterity versus sameness in formulating policy interventions and agendas will play an important role in ensuring that social and public policies benefit both minority groups and majority groups. These practitioners will explore the many commonalties that can be drawn on in formulating a policy that works, while considering the differences between these groups that could cause a policy breakdown for certain populations. This is an exciting role for anthropologists in the next millennium, and anthropology departments need to make this a priority in training future practitioners.

Program and Public Management Skills: Several have asserted that practicing anthropologists rarely take leadership or management roles within non-academic public or private sectors. This is due, in part, to a lack of capacity building in this area during masters or doctoral training. Leadership and management skills, and the ability to apply these skills in multi-disciplinary contexts and with cross-disciplinary practitioners are crucial if practicing anthropologists hope to lead public policy in the next century. It will mean the difference between being the decision-maker versus being someone who suggests policy to others who may or may not take the suggestions into consideration. Indeed, if anthropology hopes to have any super-significant impact on public policy more practitioners need to move into public service leadership and management roles. Joint degree programs or multi-disciplinary concentrations that allow student anthropologists to earn an MPA, MBA, JD or

MPH (or take significant credits within these areas) etc. would do much to propel anthropologists into leadership roles within the public and private sector (several have argued the need for gaining such experiences or credentials for work outside of academia. Beyond leadership training and management credentials, practicing anthropologists must master both popular and professional communication skills. This necessitates a change away from traditional academic forms of communication training in anthropology graduate programs e.g. standard research papers, reading a paper at a conference, or theses and dissertations directed at other academics. Anthropological curriculums must create opportunities for graduate students to communicate proposals, research, and ideas in concise, multi-media formats that focus less on anthropological or academic jargon and more on communicating convincing information to a diverse audience. If practicing anthropologists are unable to communicate their ideas in this way, either as leaders, managers or support staff, then their ability to affect change or contribute to private or public sector decision-making will be limited. Finally, practicing anthropologists must gain skills in getting to yes when working with large institutions and contentious groups or individuals. This is consistent with the oft cited anthropological role of cultural brokerage, in that practicing anthropologists must work to find consensus and shared solutions within a policy context of contrasting viewpoints. Getting to yes necessitates flexibility and compromise. As such, practicing anthropologists cannot be wedded to a critical conception of institutions or groups, but rather must work through these perspectives toward reaching compromise and consensus. This requires practicing anthropologists to have a holistic understanding of institutions and the

importance of vertical and horizontal networks in solving problems. Practicing anthropologists need not pander to power, but getting to yes with those who have power is necessary for the implementation of successful interventions and policies. Anthropologists have spent decades critically deconstructing and critiquing social institutions, agencies, organizations and groups. These efforts have not been a waste of academic time and have contributed to a fuller understanding of hegemony, exploitation and social reality, however, in most cases these criticisms are less effective than throwing rocks at a brick wall - nothing really changes - the problem is still standing. In contrast, Practicing anthropologists need to develop skills for working with institutions and those who have decision-making power, rather than focusing their energies on doing battle with these groups. Future practitioners must gain capacity in developing strategies for establishing vertical alliances and harnessing the power of social and institutional resources that are crucial in getting to yes and implementing successful public interventions. Anthropology programs that develop these skills in their graduates will further the impact of anthropological practitioners within public and private sectors and solidify the discipline as a relevant background for leadership in planning, problem-solving and public decision-making.

Practitioners in Practitioner Training: The importance of practicing anthropologists in practitioner training programs cannot be overstated. Although faculty will carry much of the responsibility in transforming anthropology departments, many will be ill prepared for such leadership because they have spent their careers as academics. In light of this, as anthropology departments move to transform their pedagogical focus away from reproducing academics

and toward the production of practitioners, they will thus increasingly need to incorporate active practitioners in their training programs. Practitioners will be necessary mentors during the development of student practitioner profiles, invaluable contributors to curriculum reform (and should be included on curriculum committees or advisory boards), rich resources to draw upon for integrating practice and applied content into anthropology curriculums, important networking links for students interested in public or private sector employment, internships or research contexts and leaders in crafting departmental placement services for non-academic employment.

The role of practitioners in practitioner training programs will serve two purposes within the discipline: 1) it will tie current practitioners to the discipline through their involvement in the training of future practitioners and 2) it will tie future practitioners to the discipline because their anthropological training will be relevant to their practice and they will be involved in an ongoing relationship with their past departments as resources for practitioner training. As Baba (1994) has asserted the success of anthropology departments in tying practitioners to the discipline will ensure anthropology's viability and place among those social sciences making meaningful contributions to public life in the next millennium.

Classrooms with context: Classrooms and books provide imperfect approximations of the world, how things are done, should be done or could be done. As anthropology refocuses its training lens on practitioners, it will need to increasingly develop creative methods for providing work and hands-on experiences to students as part of the curriculum. These experiences can take

several forms: 1) classroom service learning components or practicums and 2) internships.

The conjoining of a classroom context and applied fieldwork can transform the typical class into a highly relevant incubator for applied anthropology research and practitioner trajectories or careers (Hebert, 1997). Hands-on experiences as part of a class fieldwork or service learning component prepares students for working in practitioner contexts, alerts them to evolving employment opportunities within public and private sectors, stresses the interaction general and applied theory with real programs of intervention and research, helps students break into a mode of thinking where application and advocacy are part of the doing of anthropology and enables them to work on non-academic writing skills important to practitioner contexts (Hebert, 1997).

Outside of classroom service learning components, internships are also important aspects to practitioner training. These hands-on opportunities are central to a number of existing practitioner training programs within the discipline e.g. The University of Maryland. Their benefits are similar to those for classroom service learning components or practicums, but they have additional benefits in that they are generally longer, richer experiences.

The Applied Dissertation

The culmination of a practitioner training program for a doctoral student is the applied dissertation. The dissertation should reflect the student's practitioner profile while simultaneously fulfilling university requirements, contributing to social and scientific problem solving, and providing the student with tangible and

marketable springboard experiences that will accelerate their entry into private or public sector work following the completion of their dissertation.

Applied dissertations should make substantive contributions in the following areas:

- project design
- theory
- community needs
- policy

Project design should explore methods as community projects or interventions and give the student program leadership and management experience. These methodologically driven community projects should also produce data toward hypothesis and theory testing, community needs, and public policy, while field testing program designs for future applications. The overall design goal should be to blend theory and practice, application and research, social and academic impact.

Praxis should be the overall theoretical tether for applied dissertations. Through this framework social conditions and related theories are explored and plans for social change or action developed. Theories should be defined by public priorities or problems and not by academic fads.

Students should be encouraged to implement their dissertation projects in domestic contexts since many of their future practitioner opportunities will arise in North America. Additionally, applied dissertations should develop substantive policy agendas related to contemporary social problems or concerns. Above all else, applied dissertations should address community or constituent needs and collaboratively contribute to existing public service efforts.

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Biographical Sketch

Tony Hebert was born on January 19, 1970 in Valley City, ND. He grew up in Dickinson, ND and graduated from the University of North Dakota in 1993 with a BA in anthropology. From 1993-1994 he was a VISTA volunteer in Grand Forks, ND where he collaborated with local community based organizations and the North Dakota Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation to found and coordinate a Community Service and Restitution Program for low-income probationers and parolees. He completed an MA in anthropology at the University of Florida in 1996. His thesis research focused on quality of life concerns among African American glaucoma patients in north central Florida. After the completion of his MA, Mr. Hebert founded *View our Voices*, a community-based participatory media arts program targeting at-risk youth in Gainesville, FL, and coordinated this program through 1997. From 1998 to 1999 Mr. Hebert was a visiting faculty member at the University of North Dakota and Sitting Bull College. During this same time he collaborated with the Standing Rock Tribe (ND / SD) and the Emmons County Commission (ND) to implement the research presented in this dissertation. In 1999, Mr. Hebert began work as program coordinator for the Participatory Research and Planning Program (PRPP) and the Youth in Development Initiative at the University of Tennessee Community Partnership Center (CPC). As program coordinator, Mr. Hebert developed the *YouthPlan* model for bridging the digital divide through community youth development; and implemented this approach in housing projects

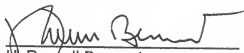
throughout Knoxville, TN. He also contributed to *The Planning Team* approach to sustainable community development. During his tenure, the PRPP was named a national U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Best Practices Award Recipient. In August of 2001, Mr. Hebert begins work with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development--Public and Indian Housing--Office of Public Housing Investments in Washington, D.C. where he will focus on HOPE VI community-supported services.

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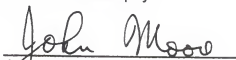
Allan Burns, Chairman
Professor of Anthropology

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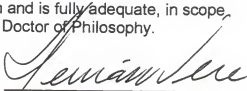
H. Russell Bernard
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John Moore
Professor of Anthropology

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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 2001


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